Daily Report

East Europe

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CONTENTS

21 October 1994

NOTICE TO READERS: The processing indicators appearing in brackets at the start of each item in this publication have been changed. All indicators now begin with "FBIS" to make the material more easily identifiable in databases. Some also indicate whether the item has been translated from the vernacular or transcribed from English.

All material in this volume previously disseminated in electronic form.

BULGARIA

Prime Minister Outlines Cabinet's Priorities *[Sofia Radio]* 1
BSP, BSDP Leaders Discuss Election Issues *[DUMA 15 Oct]* 1
BZNS-DP Coalition Agreement Published *[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME 13 Oct]* 2
RDP Official Views Possible Split, Alliance *[KONTINENT 15-16 Oct]* 2
RDP To Remain in SDS Coalition *[24 CHASA 17 Oct]* 3

CZECH REPUBLIC

National Bank Releases Sep Economic Figures *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 19 Oct]* 4
Central Bank's Balance-of-Payments Data Cited *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 17 Oct]* 4

SLOVAKIA

Results of First Postelection Survey 5
ZRS Most Trusted Party *[SME 15 Oct]* 5
Duray Most Distrusted Politician *[PRAVDA 15 Oct]* 5
ZRS's Luptak Rejects Statements Made by Deputy *[SME 14 Oct]* 5
ZRS To Support but Not Take Part in Coalition *[DENNIK 17 Oct]* 6
Joint Choice, Hungarians Hold Coalition Talks *[Bratislava Radio]* 6
Hungarians Set To Discuss Joint Choice Coalition *[Bratislava Radio]* 6
PM Unhappy With Intensity of Coalition Talks *[Prague Radio]* 7
Legal Expert Supports Parliament With 135 Seats *[PRAVDA 15 Oct]* 7
HZDS Says Political Situation Can Be Solved *[Bratislava Radio]* 8
Magvasi Assesses Economy With 'Sober Optimism' *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 18 Oct]* 8
Unemployment Falls to 14.28% in September *[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA 18 Oct]* 8
'Frightening' Growth of Drug Addiction Documented *[SME, etc.]* 9

HUNGARY

Spanish Minister Pledges Help With EU Integration *[NEPSZABADSAG 17 Oct]* 10
Government Creates Administration Control Office *[Budapest Radio]* 10
Official Describes New Law on Secret Service *[NEPSZABADSAG 20 Oct]* 10
Editor Explains Need for Underground Publication *[UJ MAGYARORSZAG 15 Oct]* 11

POLAND

Moscow, Warsaw Agree on Debt Settlement *[Warsaw Radio]* 13
Controversy Over Strak, Pawlak Trips Viewed *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 17 Oct]* 13
Walesa Promises To Change 'System' *[Warsaw Radio]* 15
General Staff Head, Generals Testify on Drawsko *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 20 Oct]* 15
Public Opinion Polls on Self-Government Analyzed *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 18 Oct]* 16
Rightist Leaders Discuss Situation in Right Wing *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 20 Oct]* 17

ROMANIA

Army Prepares for Theoretical Enemy From East *[EVENIMENTUL ZILEI 18 Oct]* 19
Radio Notes Moldovan Criticism of Leadership *[Bucharest Radio]* 19
SIE Officer Reportedly Behind Letter to Senate *[TINERETUL LIBER 17 Oct]* 19
Outbreak of Hepatitis-A, -B Epidemic Reported *[EVENIMENTUL ZILEI 14 Oct]* 20
Workers in Turkey Source of Country's Cholera *[EVENIMENTUL ZILEI 17 Oct]* 20

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Izetbegovic Calls For Continuation of War *[TANJUG]* 21
Karadzic: No Reason To Delay Peace Process *[TANJUG]* 21
Rules Out Accepting Maps *[Zagreb TV]* 21
Calls Sanctions 'Futile' *[Sarajevo Radio]* 21
Replaces SDS Official *[Sarajevo Radio]* 22
General Threatens UN Over Possible Air Strikes *[AFP]* 22
Izetbegovic Visits 'Newly Liberated Areas' *[Sarajevo Radio]* 22
Ganic Meets With British Delegation *[Sarajevo Radio]* 23
Bosnian Serbs Claim Arrests, Confiscate Arms *[AFP]* 23
Trial on War Crimes Adjourned Until 5 Dec *[AFP]* 23
'Heavy Fighting' Reported on Gradacac Front *[Sarajevo Radio]* 24
Infantry Attacks Reported *[Sarajevo Radio]* 24
Serbian Offensive Continues *[Sarajevo Radio]* 24
Bosnian Army Poised To Enter Teslic *[Sarajevo Radio]* 25
Advance Detailed *[Sarajevo Radio]* 25

CROATIA

Akashi: Zagreb, Krajina Held 'Secret' Meetings *[Sarajevo Radio]* 26
Talks With Serbian Krajina To Resume 'Soon' *[TANJUG]* 26
FRY Not To Interfere in Zagreb-Knin Relations *[VJESNIK 11 Oct]* 26
Aid Agency To Transport to Bosnia via Dubrovnik *[AFP]* 27
Fight Erupts Between Assembly Deputies *[Zagreb TV]* 27
Serbs Kill One Croatian Soldier, Wound Two *[TANJUG]* 28

THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

Electoral Commission Announces Gligorov Victory *[AFP]* 29
Wins With 52.44 Percent *[Skopje Radio]* 29
State Television Cited on Gligorov Victory *[AFP]* 29
Gligorov Statement After Election Victory *[Skopje Radio]* 29
Albanian Press Interviews Gligorov *[KOHA JONE 16 Oct]* 1
PDP Assesses Election Results as 'Satisfactory' *[NOVA MAKEDONIJA 19 Oct]* 3
'Uncertainty' After First Round of Elections *[TANJUG]* .....
Report on Details on First Round of Elections *[NOVA MAKEDONIJA 20 Oct]* 3
VMRO-DPMNE, DP Urge Election Annulment *[NOVA MAKEDONIJA 20 Oct]* 34
Assembly Chairman Urged To Annul Elections *[NOVA MAKEDONIJA 20 Oct]* 35
Editorial Examines Gosev's Present, Past Steps *[NOVA MAKEDONIJA 20 Oct]* 36

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

UN Sanctions Committee Bars 550 Deliveries *[TANJUG]* 38
Radicals Threaten To Boycott Parliament *[TANJUG]* 38

Serbia

Milosevic Urges Bosnian Serbs To End War *[Belgrade TV]* 38

Montenegro

Djukanovic Views State's Place Within FRY *[DNEVNIK 16 Oct]* 40
Bulatovic Discusses Relations With Albania *[KOHA JONE 20 Oct]* 42

Kosovo

Three Albanians Sentenced to Imprisonment *[TANJUG]* 43
Journal Fined for Unauthorized Distribution *[KOSOVA DAILY REPORT 19 Oct]* 44

Prime Minister Outlines Cabinet's Priorities

AU2010193094 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 20 Oct 94

[Statement by Prime Minister Reneta Indzhova on the priorities of the "caretaker cabinet" in Sofia—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dear Compatriots: I became the head the first caretaker cabinet in Bulgaria at an exceptionally grave moment for our country. I therefore find it necessary and even obligatory to outline the priority tasks and goals of the caretaker cabinet.

According to the Constitution, the basic functions of the caretaker cabinet are related to preparing and conducting the 18 December parliamentary elections. The Council of Ministers will make the maximum effort to facilitate the organizational and technical preparations for the elections, and it has already begun those efforts.

However, several serious problems must be resolved if every Bulgarian citizen is to freely cast his vote for a new and democratic government. I want to immediately point out that each of those problems has an urgent character.

Crime is the first problem. When we talk about the mafia, we clearly understand that we mean the penetration of the state structures by organized crime. This is precisely there where the treatment must start. From there, it must continue through all levels of corruption, until it reaches the lowest and most visible level—the brutal street rackets and the attempts against human life. Every citizen who violates the law, regardless of his title, rank, or social status, must be punished. Only then will the ordinary citizen be granted his legal and moral right to the inviolability of his personal and property, tranquility, and security. The government will make every possible effort to implement this task and will fully utilize all the existing possibilities of preserving social peace and order on the basis of the existing laws. The implementation of this first priority task is a necessary and obligatory prerequisite to implement honest and democratic elections—the basic task of the caretaker cabinet.

Another priority task is to continue the privatization. As I have pointed out repeatedly, so far there has been no political willingness to implement the privatization. Such a willingness must be created. We all must unite around the position at the present grave moment that only by speeding up privatization can we create new jobs and increase budget revenues. In this context, the government will particularly stress the small, municipal privatization and the attraction of foreign investment for major enterprises. These are the enterprises that can achieve positive results in the most rapid and painless manner.

Continuing the land reform is another priority task. The land must be returned to its legal owners, to a realistic extent, as soon as possible. Where this proves impossible, it will be necessary to ensure equitable compensation, stimulate the establishment of cooperatives for collective participation in the privatization, and so forth. Only from such a starting position will it be possible to head toward all the new forms of management and the introduction of market economy principles in developing agriculture. One of the most urgent tasks in the sphere of land reform is stopping the activity of the liquidation councils as soon as possible.

Waging war on poverty is another priority task. We must not bury our heads in the sand. We all see how old, weak, and disabled people forage in garbage cans in the hope of finding something valuable that can secure their existence for another day. It is our desire to eliminate those scenes from our everyday life as soon as possible.

To implement this task, we will adopt urgent measures to direct some of the State Reconstruction and Development Fund resources and other extrabudgetary resources and funds to the solution of this problem.

However, the government is not omnipotent. It needs the united efforts and firm trust of all citizens of goodwill in our motherland to achieve the aforementioned goals.

Any differences that could prompt opposition—regardless of whether they are of an ethnic, religious, political, or personal nature—must be put aside decisively, even if only for a few months.

If we succeed in achieving this, at least most of it, I am sure that the provisional caretaker cabinet will leave lasting and significant results for the next government. By making possible the conduct of honest and democratic elections, it will facilitate the development and strengthening of democracy in Bulgaria and will guarantee the democratic process. Thank you for your attention.

BSP, BSDP Leaders Discuss Election Issues

AU2010120594 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 15 Oct 94 p 2

[Report by Vesela Doneva]

[FBIS Translated Text] Following a meeting yesterday between party leaderships that lasted more than two hours, Nikolay Kamov, BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] spokesman, stated that the BSP and the BSDP [Bulgarian Social Democratic Party] agree that the model for the transition is faulty and must be replaced with one based on broad popular and parliamentary support for a stable government following the elections. The two party leaderships discussed specific issues concerning their actions in the run-up to the forthcoming elections. A joint BSP-PSDP communique issued approves of the process of consolidation taking place among left-of-center political forces with a sense of national responsibility, and appeals for a tolerant election campaign waged on the basis of parties' election platforms and the future government's goals.

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Kamov said the two parties will not establish a straight coalition, but that cooperation between them cannot be excluded—a cooperation that, in the spirit of the accords reached, will manifest itself in a new style of conducting an election campaign.

BZNS-DP Coalition Agreement Published

AU2010120694 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 13 Oct 94 p 1

["BZNS-Democratic Party Coalition Agreement"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bulgaria is in a deep political, economic, moral, and institutional crisis. We are facing new elections.

The Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS] and the Democratic Party [DP] are taking steps aimed at forming a coalition. The two parties are uniting their efforts to save the fatherland, to build a socially oriented market economy, and to work against a new communist government in Bulgaria.

The BZNS and DP have established identical views and have agreed on the following:

1. The two parties join efforts, thereby strengthening the noncommunist democratic forces.

2. A coalition is formed between the BZNS and the DP. In this context coalition means reaching political agreement on the achievement of common goals within a specific period of time while preserving the political identity of each individual organization and adopting decisions through consensus.

3. The BZNS and the DP are traditional political parties. They have made a historical contribution to developing democracy. Today they have similar assessments on the political situation and on the goals and means for governing the state.

4. The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] is the political opponent of the BZNS-DP coalition. The BSP still has not relinquished the obsolete structures of totalitarian power. It is again striving toward total domination and the virtual elimination of the three powers.

The BZNS and DP do not intend to wage a political struggle against other noncommunist and democratic organizations. They are not, however, prepared to join alliances in which they could lose their political image, and in which decisions are not adopted on the basis of a general consensus.

5. The BZNS and DP are against the bipolar model of Bulgarian democracy. It has been established that this model is unsuited to our conditions and, in practice, it serves the BSP's interests. The emergence of a strong coalition of forces that are noncommunist and democratic, made up of the BZNS and the DP, has created the opportunity to attract to political life many voters who have been reluctant, in recent years, to participate in elections.

6. The BZNS-DP coalition is open to parties and political personalities who have in recent years demonstrated a real commitment to the ideas of democracy.

7. The coalition that has been established will be represented in the elections by a joint list of candidates, which will be based on a special agreement reached by means of expert studies, goodwill, and mutual confidence.

The coalition agreement must be approved by the competent organs of the coalition partners.

For the BZNS: Dr. Anastasiya Mozer.

For the DP: Stefan Savov.

RDP Official Views Possible Split, Alliance

AU2010120894 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 15-16 Oct 94 p 2

[Interview with Elka Konstantinova, National Assembly member for the Radical Democratic Party, by Galya Nikolova; place and date not given: "Professor Elka Konstantinova: It Appears That I Will Have To Completely Withdraw From Political Life"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Nikolova] Mrs. Konstantinova, do you anticipate a split in the Radical Democratic Party [RDP] at the upcoming extraordinary congress?

[Konstantinova] Like every other political force in Bulgaria, the RDP has had its difficult moments, but we have never been on the verge of a split. I hope that this will not occur now, because according to a preliminary agreement we have, the congress should decide the party's fate. Actually, this is the sole political reason for convening the congress: It must determine the place of the RDP within the coalition of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] and outside it. The congress' decision will be a definite one, although perhaps not all members would accept it.

[Nikolova] You say that, personally, you can no longer stay within the SDS.

[Konstantinova] My situation is very delicate and it appears that I will have to completely withdraw from political life. I cannot stay in the SDS after the grave insults DEMOKRATSIYA printed about me.

[Nikolova] How many party members will follow you?

[Konstantinova] I will not force anyone to follow me. I do not want anyone to leave the party, because no one is in my situation. All party members are very active and the party needs them. I also want Nikolay Slatinski to return to the RDP.

[Nikolova] He will return only if the party leaves the SDS....

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[Konstantinova] Yes, this is so. I have the same hope. If we do not leave the SDS, we will have to decide on our future course. It is important to us to preserve the RDP's character as a liberal party of intelligent and thinking people. I believe that prudence will prevail at the congress.

[Nikolova] And Aleksandur Yordanov....

[Konstantinova] He is the party leader. We appreciate and respect him despite his mistakes, because everyone makes mistakes.

[Nikolova] Did he make any mistakes as RDP leader and National Assembly chairman?

[Konstantinova] I have not noticed any in his activity as chairman of the National Assembly. The congress will decide whether he erred as party leader.

[Nikolova] Where do you think the SDS is heading?

[Konstantinova] The SDS is heading toward an election victory, especially if we help by forming a coalition. In the next National Assembly, deputies elected on the ticket of the alliance between Anastasiya Mozer [Bulgarian Agrarian National Union leader] and Stefan Savov [Democratic Party leader], and God willing, deputies elected on the RDP ticket, will also be SDS deputies.

RDP To Remain in SDS Coalition

AU2010213494 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 17 Oct 94 p 3

[Report by Iva Petroni: "Radical Democrats Stay in SDS"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the 26th Congress of the Radical Democratic Party [RDP] held yesterday in the National Palace of Culture in Sofia, the party voted to remain in the SDS. In an open ballot with votes recorded by name, 170 delegates opted to stay in the SDS, 120 voted to leave the coalition, and three abstained.

Asparukh Panov, Nikolay Khristov, and Mikhail Nedelchev defended the proposal that each individual should decide on his own actions and advocated forming a coalition with Savov [chairman of the Democratic Party and leader of recently formed election coalition of the Democratic Party and Bulgarian National Agrarian Union], but they remained in the minority.

Mikhail Nedelchev and [RDP Honorary President] Elka Konstantinova declared that they accept the congress resolutions and will not split the party. Despite this, Konstantinova stated that the decision to remain in the SDS will humiliate and destroy the Radical Democrats. "I will not leave the RDP, but I will not work for this SDS," she said. Nikolay Khristov reportedly offered his resignation from the post of political secretary.

Minutes before the ballot on whether to remain in the SDS, Aleksandur Yordanov stated that he would resign if the RDP decided to seek a coalition with Mozer [leader of Bulgarian National Agrarian Union]. I cannot bear the sight of Mozer and her Agrarians, he is reported to have declared in the hall. He is said to have hinted that the Agrarians have police collaborators in their ranks, because as National Assembly chairman, he held the Grand National Assembly report on the personal files.

National Assembly Deputies Ivan Tosev and Sasho Stoyanov did not attend the congress because they had not paid their party membership dues.

Nadezhda Mikhaylova, head of the press center of the SDS National Coordinating Council, was allowed to attend the congress but without voting rights, because she had joined another local party organization after the date of the congress was announced and, under the RDP statute, persons included in the membership lists up to the date of the congress may attend.

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National Bank Releases Sep Economic Figures

AU2110090294 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 19 Oct 94 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Production Rose in August at a Record-Breaking Pace"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—Industrial output rose 7.7 percent and construction output 7.2 percent in the Czech Republic in August, which, in the instance of industrial output, is the largest monthly increase this year. A breakthrough occurred in September in the development of the koruna-dollar exchange rate when the koruna dropped below the 28 korunas per dollar boundary and, on the other hand, for the first time in the existence of the Czech Republic, a reduction took place in the foreign currency reserves as they, according to preliminary data, declined from $8.1 billion to $7.8 billion. This is indicated in a release from the Czech National Bank Press Department.

Central Bank's Balance-of-Payments Data Cited

AU2010124494 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 17 Oct 94 p 2

[Article by "fr": "Czech Republic's Balance of Payments Still in Surplus"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The Czech balance of payments in convertible currencies shows a permanent trend toward the creation of a surplus, states the Czech National Bank [CNB] in the latest issue of its bulletin. According to updated figures, the surplus of the current account reached $637.1 million in the first half of the year, and the capital account registered a net inflow of $875.5 million.

The current account surplus was influenced, first and foremost, by a moderate balance of trade surplus and a high balance of services surplus, the bulk of which is accounted for by tourism revenue, which amounted to $935 million. The overwhelming part of incoming capital is made up of foreign credits granted to domestic companies. Roughly one-half of portfolio investments was accounted for by sales of city of Prague bonds abroad ($250 million). Direct investments ($300.5 million) went mostly into the financial sector, construction, and the food industry.

According to the CNB, positive trends in the economy continue to be accompanied by a faster money supply growth than originally anticipated in the monetary program. Money supply went up 8.9 percent in July, compared with the beginning of the year, and, when extraordinary factors are discounted, it even went up 11.4 percent. The growth of money supply slowed down in August, owing to an increase in obligatory minimal reserves.

The CNB also decided to intensify efforts at the sterilization [sterilizace] of money flowing into the economy from abroad.

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Results of First Postelection Survey

ZRS Most Trusted Party

AU2010215394 Bratislava SME in Slovak 15 Oct 94 p 1

[Article by "dos" "Association of Workers of Slovakia Enjoys the Greatest Trust"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The first postelection public opinion survey, carried out by Slovak Radio's Methodological Research Department from 3 to 9 October, ascertained, apart from trust in political personalities, trust in political entities.

Postelection Trust in Political Parties

	Percent
Association of Workers of Slovakia	47.1
Movement for a Democratic Slovakia	38.4
Democratic Union	34.5
Green Party in Slovakia	33.7
Slovak National Party	30.4
Party of the Democratic Left	28.2
Christian Democratic Movement	26.3
Democratic Party	21.4
Social Democratic Party of Slovakia	16.4
Party of Entrepreneurs and Tradesmen	15.5
Christian Social Union	13.7
Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement	12.9
Coexistence	12.0
Hungarian Civic Party	10.9
National Democratic Party	8.5

Duray Most Distrusted Politician

AU2010184494 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Oct 94 p 1

[Article by "ml": "Postelection Distrust of Politicians"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday we published the results of a representative survey of Slovak Radio's Methodological Research Department (it took place from 3 to 9 October 1994), which ranked politicians according to how they have succeeded in winning the public's trust. Today we publish a table that comes from the same survey, albeit from the other end. It ranks politicians according to the degree to which respondents expressed distrust of them. Respondents either replied that they used to trust the politician in question but no longer trust him, or they admitted that they never trusted him and do not trust him even now. Let us hope that politicians and their closest collaborators will give at least some thought to the reasons:

Postelection Distrust of Politician

	Percent
Miklos Duray	69.1
Jan Carnogursky	67.8
Vojtech Bugar	61.7
Ludovit Cernak	55.5
Vladimir Meciar	54.0
Peter Weiss	53.6
Ivan Miklos	49.7
Lazslo Nagy	47.4
Jan Klepac	47.3
Jan Slota	45.6
Michal Kovac	43.6
Jozef Moravcik	39.9
Ladislav Pittner	39.5
Ivan Gasparovic	36.1
Pavol Kanis	35.9
Brigita Schmognerova	27.9
Lubo Roman	25.5
Jaroslav Volf	23.9
Jan Luptak	22.2
Jozef Pokorny	18.7
Vladimir Randa	16.9

Source: Methodological Research Department, October 1994

ZRS's Luptak Rejects Statements Made by Deputy

AU2010205094 Bratislava SME in Slovak 14 Oct 94 p 2

[Article by "(si, klo)": "Jan Luptak: DOMINO EFEKT Is Pulling the Wool Over Our Eyes in Order To Crush the Workers"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—"Journalists do a great deal of harm. DOMINO wanted to crush the workers; therefore, they went after Kolnik. Why did they not ask me?" This is what Jan Luptak, chairman of the Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS], said in a telephone interview yesterday in reply to a question from SME on his point of view regarding the interview given by Klement Kolnik, ZRS deputy chairman and a National Council of the Slovak Republic [NR SR] deputy representing East Slovakia, to the most recent issue of the weekly DOMINO EFEKT.

The ZRS chairman first heard about Kolnik's statements from a correspondent for the Czech daily PRACE, to whom he said the following: "He has no business talking about the association. The leadership decided that the chairman and a deputy chairman would talk about the association. Kocnar and I. No one else. Kolnik was at

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this meeting, so I do not know why he is doing this. Nothing is clear either about the government or the president. They (the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]—editor's note) have to fulfill our conditions first; otherwise, nothing will come of this! What business is it of yours to comment on the association? In the end, you do not write about the association but about what Luptak says.... Nothing is clear. Support for Meciar? This decision will be made by the Republican Council in Banska Bystrica."

Jan Luptak then said the following to SME: "I respect the president. If anyone thinks otherwise, that is his business. This should not be spread outside, all over the Republic. After all, there is a constitutional way; the ballot will be secret. Let everyone decide for himself." The ZRS chairman also confirmed that the association does not want to go into the government. He added that he spoke to Klement Kolnik yesterday morning. In a telephone conversation, he denied his statements to DOMINO EFEKT. Allegedly, its editors completely twisted his words. At the same time, Kolnik promised the ZRS chairman that he would go to Kosice immediately, to the DOMINO editorial office, "to ask for a correction." According to Luptak, he will only believe DOMINO if, in Kolnik's presence, they hand over to him the recording of the interview with Kolnik. Then things will be put in order.

The chief editor of DOMINO EFEKT, Andrej Hrico, spoke to SME yesterday and confirmed the authenticity of the transcription from the recording of the interview with Klement Kolnik. The editorial office has kept the recording. Deputy Kolnik had still not arrived in the DOMINO editorial office by the time of our telephone conversation with A. Hrico. In an interview for TA SR, Jan Luptak rejected the claim that he has been offered the post of NR SR deputy chairman. He adopted a similar stance regarding a report that four ZRS deputies are on the side of the HZDS. "Let them look for them," he said.

ZRS To Support but Not Take Part in Coalition

AU2010184594 Bratislava DENNIK in Slovak 17 Oct 94 p 4

[TA SR report: "Association of Workers of Slovakia: They Have Realized That They Cannot Remain on the Sidelines"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS] shows no preference for any political party or alliance, but, in parliament, it is willing to confirm, even in writing, its relationship with a coalition that may emerge. "We have realized that we cannot remain completely on the sidelines," ZRS First Deputy Chairman Miroslav Kocnar stated after a meeting of the ZRS Republic Council in Banska Bystrica on 15 October, which focused on the ZRS's further course of action in the postelection talks. The council endorsed the course of action by ZRS Chairman Jan Luptak and other ZRS representatives thus far in talks with other parliamentary entities. According to Miroslav Kocnar, the association is of the opinion that it can defend the interests of its voters most effectively by voting in parliament only for laws that will be in the interest of society, of the working people. "We shall by no means support clearly antisocial and antiworker laws, and we shall insist that this be stated even in a written agreement," the ZRS deputy chairman said. The Republic Council called on ZRS members to participate in the coming referendum [on the passage of a law requiring proof of the origin of money used in privatization]. "Inasmuch As we have initiated the referendum, it is obvious," Kocnar said. "We do not eschew participation in the government because of a lack of qualified personalities for ministerial posts or even for the post of prime minister. It would be naive and irresponsible of us to improve someone's image by participating in the government," Kocnar said in response to the opinions of some parties and politicians about the ZRS. According to Kocnar, the association is fully aware of the fact that the previous parliament passed laws that the ZRS could not influence in any way, even though it disapproved of them. He stressed that an end should be put to political quarreling, disputes in public, and lawsuits. "This is not what we expected of the election. We hope the politicians will become responsible and quit all of that," the ZRS deputy chairman said.

Joint Choice, Hungarians Hold Coalition Talks

LD2010152494 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1400 GMT 20 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Representatives of the Joint Choice and the Hungarian coalition met in Bratislava today at the second round of coalition talks. Peter Weiss, chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL], told journalists after the meeting that the two sides agreed that proportionate representation is the best basis for the formation of the National Council. As for the participation of the Hungarian parties in the coalition government, he said that the SDL does not consider such a governmental composition realistic in view of the election results and program differences between the political parties.

Miklos Duray, chairman of Coexistence, added that the Hungarian coalition considers it not only possible to form such a government, but, in his view, good for the stability of Slovakia if the parties forming the current government coalition, together with the Hungarian coalition and supported by the Association of Workers of Slovakia, created a new government.

Hungarians Set To Discuss Joint Choice Coalition

LD2010172394 Bratislava Slovak Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 20 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The coalition of Hungarian parties is ready to conduct negotiations with the four-party

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coalition of the Joint Choice, even to go into details about conditions for entering the government. This has been stated by Laszlo A. Nagy, chairman of the Hungarian Civic Party.

This afternoon, the coalition of Hungarian parties opened negotiations with the left. Today's talks are primarily of an exploratory nature.

PM Unhappy With Intensity of Coalition Talks

LD2010195594 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 20 Oct 94

["Exclusive" interview with Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik by Prague radio special correspondent Martin Dorazin in Bratislava; date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Dorazin] Prme Minister [PM], the Slovak Republic Constitutional Court has received a complaint from the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and the Slovak National Party [SNS] about the illegality of your party's participation in the election. How soon do you think this matter can be solved, and how will you proceed?

[Moravcik] It is very difficult to talk now about the time frame of future actions because it depends on whether the Constitutional Court decides to verify all of the petition lists. If a decision is made to verify them, I cannot very well put a time limit on the entire activity because that can last not only several months, but even more than a year.

If it does not verify the petition lists—that is, if it is satisfied merely with the general characteristics—it could decide very quickly. Let us say within a week.

[Dorazin] Is there a possibility—and that was the second question we talked about at the news conference today—that the 14 substitute deputies for the members of the current government will not sit in parliament, and is there a possibility that only 135 deputies will thus be present? How do you intend to proceed on this point?

[Moravcik] We will definitely insist that the National Council is complete. If it is not complete, we will insist on interrupting the meeting that is up to appointing a new government, and then the procedure will be the same as in other cases. That is, as far as members of the current government are concerned, they will be deputies, [words indistinct] and alternate deputies will come [words indistinct].

[Dorazin] According to the Constitution, the parliament should have 150 deputies. Can it have 135?

[Moravcik] Have you in mind that the mandates of some deputies will not be legalized? Our Constitution does not provide for this possibility. So it would be an altogether new situation. I do not think that would be in harmony with the Constitution.

[Dorazin] How would you briefly assess the course of the current coalition talks? What can the results of the second round be, in your view?

[Moravcik] We are dissatisfied with the intensity of these talks because the situation demands that a new government be set up as soon as possible so that it can present a draft state budget to the National Council. In other words, for this pragmatic and concrete reason, postponing the formation of a new government is harmful to Slovakia.

Legal Expert Supports Parliament With 135 Seats

AU2010213394 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Oct 94 p 3

[Article by "sm": "Will the Democratic Union's Seats Stay Empty?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—"If the Constitutional Court decides that a certain entity was not qualified to participate in the election, this entity cannot stay in parliament," said Katarina Tothova at a meeting with selected correspondents yesterday when speaking about the complaint lodged by the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and the Slovak National Party [SNS] with the Constitutional Court about the legitimacy of the Democratic Union's [DU] participation in the election.

In that case, according to Tothova, the DU's mandates could be redistributed among other parties, on the basis of the "per analogiam legis" rule, in the same way as the votes cast for parties that did not meet the conditions for entering parliament. When PRAVDA objected that DU's case does not involve a failure to meet the conditions for entering parliament but, according to the HZDS and the SNS, a failure to meet the conditions for entering the election, Katarina Tothova replied: "In that case, their seats will remain empty. Do you have any other alternative?" In the course of the interview, Tothova repeatedly conceded that parliament could meet with only 135 deputies—that is, without the DU deputies. To support this argument, she cited as a practical example the fact that 150 deputies are never present in parliament anyway. She did not, however, rule out the possibility of all those receiving an invitation to the constituent meeting of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] who had received from the Slovak Electoral Commission a notification about their election as deputies. In that case, the NRSR should certify the validity of the election of DU deputies only after the Constitutional Court passes its verdict. According to Tothova, the calling of a new election would mean the punishment of all parties for the failure of one of them to meet the conditions set by law. She also regretted that the anxiety of society is being evoked in this purely expert legal matter.

[Bratislava SME in Slovak on 17 October on page 4 carries a 1,200-word Juraj Hrabko commentary on the postelection situation in Slovakia. Speaking about the

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"roots" of "HZDS legal expert Katarina Tothova's view that the NRSR could have only 135 deputies," Hrabko points out that, in that case, the HZDS and the SNS would be only one vote short of the three-fifths' majority necessary to change the Constitution and pass constitutional laws. According to Hrabko, "Vladimir Meciar's intention is not to be dependent on the incalculable assistance of the Association of Workers of Slovakia, which the HZDS would require in a 150-member parliament."]

HZDS Says Political Situation Can Be Solved

LD2010165294 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 20 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The internal political situation in Slovakia can be satisfactorily solved despite the fact that the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] quite unequivocally ended its talks with the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS].

This was stressed at today's briefing by HZDS Deputy Chairman Augustin Marian Huska. As for the talks with the KDH, he said that they were accompanied by differing views on the position and rights of the president, the possibilities of changes in the deputy clubs during the election period, and the circle of possible members of the coalition that should form the government.

HZDS Deputy Chairman Olga Keltosova specified that, among the modified proposals, which, according to the HZDS, should more precisely define the rights of the head of state, were resignation, recall from the post, shortening of the term of office, change of the appropriate stipulations of the Constitution, and a public declaration of the pledge not to interfere in the course of the executive of the state outside the framework given by the Constitution.

Magvasi Assesses Economy With 'Sober Optimism'

AU2010185094 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 18 Oct 94 p 4

[Interview with Economic Minister Peter Magvasi by Oldrich Zabojnik; place and date not given: "Economic Situation Supposedly Cannot Be Stabilized Without Russia and Ukraine"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *In an interview for HOSPODARSKE NOVINY, Slovak Minister of Economy Peter Magvasi assessed the results of the Slovak economy with sober optimism.*

When Slovakia's economic development is assessed, two points of view manifest themselves, the political motivation of which is evident—extreme pessimism and unconvincingly substantiated optimism. What is your view?

[Magvasi] Some elements of economic recovery can be noticed. Certain growth of the GDP has been ensured, mainly by an increase in industrial output, which has also made it possible to increase the export volume. The concurrent reduction of imports has proved to be decisive for the creation of the Slovak National Bank and commercial banks' foreign exchange reserves, which has stabilized the Slovak currency. Also, the rate of inflation is surprisingly low, by Slovak standards.

[Zabojnik] What do you think determined the growth of Slovak exports?

[Magvasi] Our industry, whose competitive ability has been doubted, has managed to convert its markets. A certain amount of time is needed to prove the opposite. We have had to obtain certificates in advanced countries. If Slovakia today has a high surplus in its trade with the European Union, it is proof that we have managed to establish ourselves on these markets.

[Zabojnik] [illegible] is the positive turnabout in the Slovak economy, about which you speak, not clearly visible at home?

[Magvasi] There exist certain factors that influence the current state of our economy. Domestic consumption is stagnating, and the share of investment in the GDP is declining. This means that allocation of resources is not taking place and real income of the population does not serve as the expected impulse to economic development. These are two very serious factors, which will definitely have to be addressed by the new government. If it does not find ways of stimulating them, the growth of industrial production will not necessarily mean stability and genuine recovery of the Slovak economy.

[Zabojnik] Let us return to the balance of trade. Do you have a surplus with all trading partners?

[Magvasi] There are two exceptions. They concern our two big partners, the Russian Federation and Ukraine, on whom we strongly depend for supplies of crucial raw materials. The settlement of relations with these two countries is also a very serious factor of stability of the Slovak economy. I dare say that, without resolving the issue of payment mechanisms with the Russian Federation and Ukraine, we will surely not be able to stabilize our economy, including foreign exchange reserves of the state. Our talks in Ukraine a few days ago clearly documented that we must transfer in mutual trade to the system of countertrade [vstricne obchodovani], which concerns 52 percent of world trade, and not to the barter system. For this to happen, we must break through a certain stubbornness of the banking sphere and find equivalent, serious guarantees for the payment mechanism.

Unemployment Falls to 14.28% in September

AU2010205194 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 18 Oct 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "Rimavska Sobota Is Still in the Lead"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—According to a report issued by the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs, and the Family, the level of unemployment in September was 14.28 percent, which is 0.12 percent less than in August. Unemployment is under 10 percent in four districts—Bratislava, Trencin, Bratislava-Environs, and Liptovsky Mikulas—while it exceeds 20 percent in nine districts. The highest levels of unemployment are in Trebisov, with 22.53 percent, Roznava with 23.25 percent, and Rimavska Sobota with 27.34 percent. A significant drop in unemployment, by 4.0 percent, was recorded in the Zilina, Cadca, and Bardejov Districts in September, while it was more than 6.0 percent in the Martin and Dolny Kubin Districts. More than 3 percent was added to the number of unemployed in the Galanta, Nove Zamky, and Poprad Districts.

'Frightening' Growth of Drug Addiction Documented

AU2010215494

[FBIS Editorial Report] Bratislava SME in Slovak on 5 and 17 October publishes items dealing with the "frightening" growth of drug addiction in Slovakia.

On 5 October, on page 5, SME carries a 350-word "ru"-attributed report entitled "Growth in the Number of Drug Addicts Is More Than Frightening." The report states: "Three centers for the treatment of drug addiction (CPLDZ) are operating in Slovakia at present—in Bratislava, Nove Zamky, and Zilina. In January, two new centers will be added—in Kosice and Banska Bystrica. Last year, psychiatric wards in the Slovak Republic specializing in drug addiction registered 2,567 persons (1,028 of them women) using psychotropic substances. Most of them, 39 percent, were dependent on hypnotics and sedatives (barbiturates, diazepam), 16 percent on evanescent substances (toluene, acetone), 9 percent on heroin and other opiates, another 9 percent on psychostimulants (amphetamine, pervitin), 7 percent on hallucinogens (LSD and its derivatives), and so forth. The above number of registered people addicted to drugs represented an increase of 430 percent over the preceding year!"

The report goes on to say that the numbers have increased further this year, and the Bratislava CPLDZ alone now registers "twice the number of patients addicted to heroin than were registered in Slovakia in the whole of last year. According to experts, the number of registered drug addicts increases by 20 to 30 each month. Hidden behind each of them are three to five unregistered cases."

Bratislava SME in Slovak on 17 October on page 3 carries a 500-word interview with Jozef Mazar, a former drug addict who now publishes the journal ZAVISLOST (ADDICTION), by Boris Koren, entitled "There Are More Than 300 Drug Dealers in Bratislava." The place and date of the interview are not given. Asked to characterize the situation in the drug sphere in Slovakia, Mazar says: "It is dismal. If nothing is done about it immediately, future generations will have to pay a high price for it. The official statistics only distort the actual situation. For the time being, there does not exist in Slovakia a single contact crisis center where drug addicts can undergo rehabilitation and resocialization to be able to return to normal life. When someone says we are doing something for drug addicts, he is talking nonsense."

Mazar refuses to estimate how many people addicted to "hard" drugs there are in Bratislava today, but he tells the SME reporter that "a couple of days ago a girl who takes drugs told me that there are more than 300 dealers in Bratislava who sell drugs. And now deduce from this how many drug addicts there must be for the dealers to make a living."

Mazar warns that consumption of drugs is spreading at schools and calls for the establishment of a "National Antidrug Office" and of "crisis and contact centers," as well as for a "broad-based information campaign in schools" to combat the plague.

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Spanish Minister Pledges Help With EU Integration

AU2010204094 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 Oct 94 p 3

[Interview with Spanish Foreign Minister Javier Solana by Gyula L. Ortutay in Budapest on 17 October: "Madrid Supports Hungary's EU Membership"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *President Arpad Goncz received Spanish Foreign Minister Javier Solana for talks lasting approximately 30 minutes on 16 October. Javier Solana arrived in Budapest on 16 October to participate in the commemoration of the Holocaust. Hungary's EU [European Union] membership was the main issue at the aforementioned talks. After the meeting, Presidential Spokesman Andras Farago told our correspondent that Arpad Goncz stressed that our constant aim is to become full members of the European Union in the shortest possible time. We would like to begin concrete talks on full membership in 1997 at the latest. Until then, however, we would like the EU to include us in debating issues that affect us. Javier Solana said that Madrid supports the Hungarian efforts. He pointed out that we can count on their help in sharing their experience in the course of the adapting process.*

[Ortutay] You assured Hungary of Madrid's full support for its efforts. Does that mean that one can regard this as an end of the dilemma of deepening and broadening the EU?

[Solana] In my view, this dilemma no longer exists, because both deepening and broadening are simultaneously possible and they complement each other. We can advance in both directions. On the one hand, broadening the EU, and on the other hand deepening it, so that this does not mean the abolition of the EU. This has always been so, like when the EU opened its gates for Spain and Portugal. As far as we are concerned, we would like both trends to advance by complementing each other.

[Ortutay] What is Madrid's position on the concept of "double speed" within the European Union?

[Solana] The concepts of "two-way speed" formulated in recent months have created a certain anxiety with us, particularly because of the possible interpretations. In our view, within the possibilities, everyone should advance with the same speed. At the same time, the already existing cases in which a country does not want to go as far as another country should be considered. In our view, it is essential that no one has the right to ban a country to advance to a certain stage, while another country wants to advance further.

[Ortutay] In the meeting with Arpad Goncz, you promised in the name of Spain to advise us in the adapting period based on your experience.

[Solana] I only repeated what we had already offered during Arpad Goncz's visit in Madrid, namely that we can help you with your EU cooperation. We can offer you this help because we were one of the last countries to join the EU. Our adapting period was quite long, so we have gained useful experience—for example, regarding the subject matters of negotiations.

[Ortutay] What adapting period should Hungary take into consideration?

[Solana] This is very difficult to tell. Arpad Goncz used a very appropriate term when discussing the issue, namely that joining the European Union has both "sweet" and "bitter" elements.

[Ortutay] Do you think that negotiations with the Visegrad Group will really start after the intergovernmental conference of the EU scheduled for 1996?

[Solana] Yes, because this is the essence of the decision made in Corfu. I hope this will be the case and the negotiations will start.

[Ortutay] What delegation level can we expect from Spain at the upcoming CSCE summit in Budapest?

[Solana] Of course, Prime Minister Felipe Gonzales and I will also accompany him.

Government Creates Administration Control Office

LD2110084594 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0600 GMT 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Judit Laszlo sums up yesterday's briefing by the government spokeswoman.

[Laszlo] [Passage omitted] The government has adopted a decree under which, with the creation of the Administration Control Office [Kormanyzati Ellenoerzesi Hivatal]], the Central Auditing Office will cease. The new office will be managed directly by the government, and supervised by the prime minister.

The government also decided to appoint a government commissioner for bank privatization. Istvan Farkas, of the Ministry of Finance, was named.

Official Describes New Law on Secret Service

AU2010203894 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Oct 94 pp 1, 4

[Report on interview with Pal Matyas, head of the office of the minister without portfolio in charge of the civilian secret services, by an unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "When Can the Hungarian 007 Shoot?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The minister without portfolio in charge of the civilian secret service hopes that parliament will adopt the national security bill by the end of this year. We asked Chief Adviser Pal Matyas, head of the minister's office, why they regard the legislation of the new law so urgent. Pal Matyas told us that, so far,

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there have only been temporary government regulations, and we lack a thorough law that regulates the activity of the secret service. We need such a law for both constitutional and practical reasons. The Constitution stipulates that a two-thirds majority law has to be legislated in this case. As for the practical aspect, we had to guarantee the conditions of special activity for the secret service. At the same time, we must also guarantee the strict observation of the relevant law in violating the citizens' rights.

One of the interesting aspects of the new bill is that it regulates the use of firearms by the secret service, a service that is not an armed force or a military unit. In certain cases, this law will allow the use of firearms—for example, to defend state secrets or various buildings—but in such a way that the use of firearms is not directed at killing people.

The aforementioned special conditions refer to the use of special means, like telephone tapping, mail control, and the secret search of various locations. The police law requires a judge's permission for such actions. According to Pal Matyas, in the case of the secret service, the use of these "sensitive" methods should remain under the jurisdiction of the justice minister. The police usually asks for the use of secret service methods in investigating concrete crimes; in the case of the secret service, however, it is far from being certain that we are talking about the investigation of such a concrete crime. For example, tips can be received about the arrival of a terrorist suspect and about his meetings with other people. A concrete crime cannot be outlined here, but it is a major state interest to clarify the matter, namely to carry out an "urgent research-investigation work." In such cases, the permission of the justice minister is more expedient, given the fact that this implies a certain level of political decision as well. As we learned, the various ministries voted in favor of permission coming from a judge. It is a fact that the agreement on human rights also calls for permission given by a judge, but the Western European practice is diverse, and one can frequently find ministerial supervision as well.

The bill also contains the possibility of making a deal. In certain cases, like preventing a terrorist action or spying activity, there is such a possibility of making a deal. Practically, this guarantees lack of punishment to certain people, if an important interest is involved. Pal Matyas did not hesitate in answering positively to our question whether he would support such a deal in order to discover the perpetrators of the series of bombing attacks.

We also learned that the secret service must also pay taxes for people who sell information for money, namely according to the highest tax bracket. Given the fact that the money comes from the budget and the budget immediately withdraws 44 percent, Pal Matyas thinks it would be more rational not to pay taxes from now on.

The bill also intends to settle the legal status of the professional staff, because we are talking about professional officers here. Pal Matyas predicts a debate on the proposed secret service supplement. He thinks, however, that a staff that is underpaid and overworked definitely deserves such a supplement.

Editor Explains Need for Underground Publication

AU2010204194 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 15 Oct 94 p 11

[Interview with Laszlo, Gy. Toth, SAMIZDAT editor, political scientist, and public affairs journalist, by Lajos Lovas; place and date not given: "Civic Transformation in Danger, or the New Golden Age of Samizdat"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Lovas] You are one of the editors of SAMIZDAT, a SAMIZDAT publication that was launched this past September. What justifies the publication of an underground newspaper at this time in Hungary?

[Toth] In my view, domestic political developments in Hungary after the 1990 elections have evolved in such a way that the left-wing intellectual dictatorship has actually been continuous, regardless of the fact that a center-right government was in power. By now, the falsification of facts has reached a level that simply cannot be left in silence. [passage omitted]

[Lovas] In the media, SAMIZDAT has been described as a newspaper of former radio and television journalists....

[Toth] Yes, this also appeared as a problem in the editorial room. Zoltan Posa, Zoltan Zsille, Geza Buda, and many other people write for SAMIZDAT, a lot of them under an alias. This newspaper does not concentrate on the media's internal matters, it wishes to react to the economic, social, political, and cultural processes in the country and does not wish to be a narrow media journal. [passage omitted]

[Lovas] What are the social, political, and cultural processes that this publication wants to react to?

[Toth] In view of the 1994 elections, we can now say that the same group that actually controlled the economic and cultural processes during the Antall government's four years has now also seized political power. Through the former reform communists and the left-wing liberals who have joined them in seizing the political power, the reform communist structures and attitudes have also reappeared in Hungary. The reappearance of the reform communist attitude is extremely important because it hides the fact that nothing essential has happened in the now three months of the government coalition's operation. Especially nothing that would have improved the country's foreign political image or that would have influenced the economic situation in a positive direction. The simple fact is that, in accordance with the earlier reform communist tactics, the former comrades are burdening the public with large amounts of unimportant issues, they create issues and quickly solve them, while nothing of importance is happening. At the same

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time, using their parliamentary majority, they are continuing the complete occupation of the country's economic and cultural life. If necessary, to achieve this, they even use anti-constitutional methods, let us remember the world expo issue, the appointment of the media chairmen, or the amendment of the local government law which was implemented without a consensus. [passage omitted]

[Lovas] Returning to the original question, why is a samizdat needed when opposition newspapers still exist?

[Toth] Look, however sad it is to say this, it is not certain that the real opposition newspapers have a long-term future. It is a natural attribute of left-wing intellectual dictatorships to strive to shape its own opposition and to arbitrarily mark the limits of acceptability. A very good example for this was when [Prime Minister] Gyula Horn, in response to whether he was sorry about the termination of certain opposition newspapers, said that it is not certain that these newspapers are needed because NEPSZABADSAG can also fulfill this role.

[Lovas] Therefore, SAMIZDAT is somewhat anticipating the time when opposition newspapers will no longer exist?

[Toth] It certainly is preparing for this. However, let us look at the newspaper palette. In the course of its privatization, MAGYAR NEMZET might fall into hands that change it into a left-wing forum or into a quasi-opposition newspaper, but it certainly will not preserve its independent and civic image. Unfortunately, UJ MAGYARORSZAG and UJ DEMOKRATA and the two excellent social science journals, namely VALOSAG and MAGYAR SZEMLE, might get into the same situation. Then a situation might easily arise when the intellectuals and social scientists who do not have a left-wing persuasion will have nowhere to publish their materials in Hungary. In this case, in opposition to the left-wing intellectual offensive, it will not be possible to create a counter culture by 1998 that could facilitate the success of a non-leftwing political coalition at the elections, because a political party is unable to present itself for the public without this counter culture and without an intellectual supporting ring, and it cannot evoke affinity for itself. [passage omitted]

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Moscow, Warsaw Agree on Debt Settlement

LD2010160694 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1500 GMT 20 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Poland and Russia have settled the issue of mutual debts. After today's meeting in Moscow, Leslaw Podkanski and Oleg Davydov, ministers of foreign economic cooperation, announced that the so-called zero option formula had been worked out during talks between the two delegations. Artur Michalski, spokesman for the Polish Embassy in Moscow, said that, in principle, it meant writing off mutual debts.

[Begin Michalski recording] Both ministers announced that about four or five documents on economic cooperation in various fields between our states will be signed during a visit to Warsaw by Prime Minister Victor Chernomyrdin. Minister Podkanski told journalists today about the so-called zero plus option. It means that Polish indebtedness to Russia and Russian to Poland will not balance themselves completely. There will be a surplus on the Polish side. That means a zero plus for us, but the sum involved has not been disclosed. [end recording]

Controversy Over Strak, Pawlak Trips Viewed

WS2010151594 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17 Oct 94 p 12

[Article by Agnieszka Sowa and Tomasz Wroblewski in Washington, D.C.: "Pawlak Follows Strak"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak is scheduled to meet World Bank Vice President Ernest Stern during his coming visit to the United States. The World Bank representative in Poland, Jan Sulmicki, who scheduled the meeting eight days before Pawlak's departure at the request of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs [MSZ], heard from Stern's colleagues that the vice president expects Pawlak to sign the "third list" of enterprises included in the mass privatization program, or at least give a deadline for doing so. On the next day, the Office of the Council of Ministers [URM] sent a message overseas that...

The Prime Minister Is Calling Off

...his meeting with Vice President Stern. Talks at the World Bank, attended by the IMF and the Chamber of Commerce, were to be the focal point of Prime Minister Pawlak's American visit, alongside a visit to the Polish-American Congress [PAC] in Buffalo. It was decided at the last minute that Prime Minister Pawlak's visit should be of an "economic" nature, when it became clear that no meetings with top representatives of the U.S. Administration could be scheduled. After the fiasco of the World Bank meeting, the visit may be labeled as nothing more than a "business trip." Prime Minister Pawlak, who is to make a debut visit to the United States as head of state, will make an appearance on American soil only during the one weekend he will have free from the PAC to meet with representatives of private U.S. companies and concerns.

Minister [as published] Franciszek Mleczko, chief adviser to the prime minister and coordinator of his overseas trip, vehemently denied that Prime Minister Pawlak had applied for a meeting at the World Bank, although he did admit that such a meeting would not undermine the "economic" character of the visit. According to him, no meetings had been planned with U.S. politicians.

"We deliberately assumed the economic character of the visit once we learned that President Walesa is also scheduled to pay a visit to the United States," Mleczko claims. However, ZYCIE WARSZAWY has learned from independent sources that PAC officers had...

Attempted To Schedule a Meeting for the Prime Minister

...at the White House. The offices of President Clinton, Vice President Gore, and National Security Adviser Anthony Lake have, in turn, refused to schedule meetings with Pawlak.

"The PAC will schedule the prime minister's visit only for the duration of the congress in Buffalo. During that time, he remains at their disposal. Before and after the congress, the prime minister organizes his own activities," retorts Minister Mleczko.

Traditionally, the MSZ or the diplomatic protocol are in charge of governmental visits, even those that are unofficial. Therefore, appointments are scheduled by the appropriate embassy. This time, however, the Polish Embassy in Washington was asked for assistance at the last minute—nine days before Pawlak's arrival. It was asked to schedule meetings with the World Bank (a fact Minister Mleczko denies) and a party at the embassy (which Minister Mleczko confirms). The prime minister will arrive from New York in time for a reception. Primarily, he was to spend the whole day in Washington, but, because meetings he intended to hold were impossible to schedule, he will remain in New York, where, among other things, he will attend a computer conference at Columbia University and meet with Polish organizations and travel agencies.

Minister Mleczko does not hide his disapproval of the question of who, if not the MSZ or PAC, scheduled the prime minister's meetings in the United States.

"Why are journalists always concerned with irrelevant details?"

Finally, he states...

Meetings With Companies

...were organized by interested companies.

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"We have presented the prime minister with an agenda of meetings and talks with politicians we were ready to schedule, but, as yet, we have not received a reply from Warsaw," Manuel Galvin, spokesman for Ameritech, a private company from Illinois, one of the main shareholders in the Polish cellular phone companies, Centertel, told ZYCIE WARSZAWY before Pawlak's visit to the United States. When we contacted the Ameritech representative for a second time, Manuel Galvin told us that the company will finance Pawlak's return trip from Buffalo to Chicago or from New York to Chicago (depending on the prime minister's itinerary). Ameritech would also organize a breakfast for the prime minister, to which members of the Chicago Council for Foreign Affairs and the Polish-American Chamber of Commerce would be invited.

"We are providing for a private meeting with Prime Minister Pawlak later on," Galvin added, refusing to give the names of participants in the private meeting or to comment on Ameritech's courting of Pawlak and attempts on the part of the company to secure government contracts to establish the MSG network of cellular telephone communications.

The head of Ameritech has close ties to Illinois Governor Edgar from Chicago, who has invited Prime Minister Pawlak to the United States. It is unofficially known that he extended the invitation at the request of PAC President Edward Moskal, whom Pawlak met in Warsaw. Minister Mleczko told ZYCIE WARSZAWY that the prime minister is...

Thoroughly Prepared

...for the meeting with Ameritech and that most probably it is to be organized by PAC.

The prime minister is to use a plane belonging to General Motors, a cosponsor of the visit.

Prime Minister Pawlak has obviously not learned from the experience of his party colleague, Minister Michal Strak, the head of URM.

During Minister Strak's visit to the United States, the press reported that Schooner Investment Corporation, a private company based in Boston, was the host organization. The minister did not fully deny the accusation. Upon the return of Jan Bisztyga, Strak's adviser for international relations, who accompanied the URM head on his visits to the United States and Canada, in an interview with ZYCIE WARSZAWY, firmly denied that Schooner was the organizer of the visit. When asked why Strak did not give an equally firm statement, he replied: "I did not hear what the minister said." Let us add that the minister was asked about Schooner twice—in the United States, by journalists covering the visit, and at a press conference in Warsaw upon his return. Bisztyga accompanied his boss on both occasions.

The spokesperson for Schooner, the owner's daughter Kim Ryani, evaded the question of why her company had become involved in Strak's visit. She did make assurances that it had nothing to do with the company's financial interests in Poland or attempts to manage an investment fund.

"My company did not organize Minister Strak's visit. We only invited the minister to dinner. This can hardly be considered improper," says Robert Mucha, a famous race car driver and the Polish representative for Schooner. The company hosted a dinner for Minister Strak in Boston, where invited guests included experts from the Administration School of the Kennedy Foundation, which invited the head of URM to the United States. Also among the guests were the head of Schooner, Vincent Ryani, and Robert Mucha. Strak met with the latter twice more during the short visit: at a lunch hosted by the "Lazar-Lazar" finance corporation at Rockefeller Center, attended by major investors in Poland, and at a lunch in Toronto, to which Arthur Andersen invited Canadian investors in Poland. Both Mucha and Bisztyga claim it was just a coincidence, Just like the incident with Senator Barbara Mikulski, whom Schooner invited by telephone to the dinner and requested to meet Minister Strak in a letter. Senator Mikulski did not meet with the minister. Minister Strak's reaction was very interesting: He denied officially and in writing participation in any meetings that would be the result of private interests of nongovernmental institutions.

Thus, the doubts remain, especially because it was at first impossible to find out who extended the invitation to Minister Strak for the overseas visit. Official URM documents refer to the trip as a visit at the invitation of the U.S. Government. Jan Bisztyga told Polish journalists in the United States that the invitation was extended by U.S. Ambassador in Warsaw Nicholas Rey. The Department of State, however, where Minister Strak met with officers from the East Europe Department, denied that Minister Strak visited the United States at a government invitation. The head of URM was invited by two nongovernmental institutions: Harvard University and the Kennedy Foundation. The idea for the visit had indeed originated at a meeting with Ambassador Rey, whose initiative Strak pursued consistently, presenting the ambassador with a list of priority issues.

Bisztyga does not agree with the opinion that the visit of the head of URM was a failure: "It was a huge success. We have shown what Pawlak's colleagues are like—that they are neither peasants with hay sticking out of their shoes nor red goblins," he says.

The difficulties in determining...

Who Invited Minister Strak

...to visit the United States and organized his meetings with representatives of the administration (the issue still remains unclear) were aggravated by the unusual way in which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs reported on the projected visit of a government official. The Polish Embassy in the United States learned about the URM

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head's planned visit from the press. Polish diplomats asked the MSZ why they had not been informed of such an important event. The MSZ did not inform them because it did not know anything. They called URM, which confirmed that Minister Strak was going to visit the United States, and an official statement was sent to the MSZ. This was merely nine days before Minister Strak's departure. MSZ officials admit that they have never before received information of a government member's foreign visit on such late notice. They did stress, however, that there are no rules in this respect—only custom.

The MSZ learned of Prime Minister Pawlak's visit officially and well ahead of time. It was asked for assistance only nine days before the departure.

"The Polish Embassy in Washington was notified of the details of Prime Minister Pawlak's trip, but it was not requested to schedule any of his official visits," Jacek Perlin, head of the North and South America Department, said two weeks before the head of government's scheduled visit. "Simply because Prime Minister Pawlak did not approach the MSZ." Director Perlin adds that the prime minister is under no obligation to do so. He may organize his visits through private contacts, bypassing diplomatic channels completely.

"From the signals we get, we may only guess that the prime minister will be in Chicago, but when that will be and for what purpose, I do not know. Please inquire of PAC," we hear from Andrzej Jaroszynski, the Polish consul general in Chicago.

Prime Minister Pawlak's visit to the United States is quite likely to become just as controversial as the recent, also unofficial, visit of URM Minister Michal Strak to the United States and Canada. In any event, both the Peasant Party prime minister and his party colleague Michal Strak have manifested huge distrust of the MSZ. The surprising cautiousness of the Peasant Party members of the Polish Government, a fear of using customary diplomatic channels dictated by a will to carry out foreign policy on their own, without the supervision of Minister Andrzej Olechowski and President Lech Walesa, will not do them any good. The Polish Peasant Party lacks professional staff, including people who speak foreign languages and are acquainted with diplomacy. They are more likely to be infatuated with private companies, offering their assistance, which may often exaggerate their political influence. Instead of Polish diplomats, they focus on activists from the Polish community, who are sometimes vitally interested in government visits for the sake of self-promotion and not for the benefit of Poland.

Pawlak's people obviously fear something else. Bisztyga clearly suggested that Strak's visit was sabotaged: "There was an incident in connection with one unconfirmed meeting. The Americans instantly inflated the issue. They always do that when someone stands in their way. And who stood in their way? Probably the Gummi Bears."

Did the Gummi Bears also stand in the way of Pawlak? The 50th anniversary celebrations of PAC in Buffalo shall be attended by Walesa. The president would not like Prime Minister Pawlak's visit to put him out of the spotlight. That is only a hypothesis. The struggle Pawlak and his men are conducting with the MSZ is a fact and one that is not surprising in light of the growing tensions between the president and the governing coalition. After all, not much time is left before the election. The question is whether the political struggles should accompany government officials on their foreign visits.

Walesa Promises To Change 'System'

LD2110144394 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1400 GMT 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Before flying to the United States for the 50th anniversary celebrations of the Congress of American Polonia, President Lech Walesa said that the system in Poland has to be changed so as to make it clear who is in charge of the country. The president gave the assurance that he would do this democratically.

Lech Walesa criticized Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak's travels in the United States in aircraft belonging to private firms.

General Staff Head, Generals Testify on Drawsko

WS2010124194 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Oct 94 p 2

[Article by Zbigniew Lentowicz: "Generals Made Statements in Sejm Behind Closed Doors; Exacerbating the Drawsko Case"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Someone is trying to exacerbate the minor Drawsko problem," General Tadeusz Wilecki, head of the General Staff, stated yesterday. The highest-ranking officer in the Army consistently denies that a vote was held at the dinner in Karwice, near the border of the training field near Drawsko, and that, during the vote, in front of the commander in chief of the Armed Forces, generals refused obedience to the civilian defense minister, Piotr Kolodziejczyk

Wilecki and his three deputies—General Edmund Bolociuch, Leon Komornicki, and Zbigniew Zalewski—made statements before a special Sejm subcommittee for the investigation of the crisis in the National Defense Ministry. Gen. Wilecki said that he believed that the "man-to-man talk" that was held during the meeting on 30 September "could rightfully be held." He did not exclude any further cooperation with Minister Kolodziejczyk: "We have known each other for a long time. We are able to communicate, even though at times we are unpleasant to each other."

Wilecki, as well as other representatives of the General Staff, on Wednesday first focused on responding to earlier allegations. "These were minor allegations, and they did not take more than 10 minutes," Wilecki said.

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Saying that this was not yet the right time to present all issues to the public, Wilecki stressed that the Army does not threaten anyone, that it is in favor of democratic control. However, it wants to live "under normal circumstances in the financial and legal sense." The General Staff head said that the so-called Drawsko problem can be perceived from two angles—internal and external. The former aspect is that the Army, in the opinion of the generals, is heading for a downfall, so it is the "duty" of the military people to "say this to the supreme authorities of the state."

The external aspect, according to Wilecki, boils down to this: "Someone wants to take advantage of the Drawsko problem to fight a political battle. Who is it? It is enough to see which newspapers have joined this and which forces can be found behind those editorial staffs."

"There are no examples proving that I did not carry out orders," Wilecki firmly declared. He added that written pieces of evidence of "insubordination," which Piotr Kolodziejczyk submitted to the deputies on Monday, will be verified by the deputies themselves: "The committee will decide whether they were acts of not carrying out orders or not."

As we found out, the generals presented the committee with documents that the deputies evaluated as serious.

"The statements by the generals and their documents present an entirely different outlook. The context differs significantly from what was revealed by the representatives of the civilian ministry," said Committee Chairman Jerzy Szmajdzinski of the Democratic Left Alliance. He added, however, that it is still too early to evaluate which information and whose reports are more convincing. The deputies have not yet made the final comparisons. However, to have a full picture of the situation, they decided to invite all of the participants of the Karwice dinner. The possibility cannot be ruled out that Field Bishop Slawoj Leszek Glodz and Minister Mieczyslaw Wachowski will also make statements.

Wilecki suddenly ended the talk on hearing the question of whether he was considering the possibility of tendering his resignation. Colonel Zdzislaw Czekierda, spokesman of the General Staff, evaded the same question: Let us wait until the committee concludes its work.

In the opinion of Deputy Tomasz Nalecz, the version of the developments and the opinions on the situation in the Army presented by the defense minister and the head of the General Staff differ greatly. This is why it will be necessary to continue the investigation, to summon Kolodziejczyk again, and even to make both parties to the conflict meet before the committee.

Public Opinion Polls on Self-Government Analyzed

WS2010124494 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Oct 94 pp 1-2

[Article by Renata Wrobel: "Self-Government in Public Opinion—No Major Changes for Now"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] *New gmina [small administrative unit] authorities hardly had time to complete the elections (not everywhere did they succeed in doing so). They did not pass many other resolutions apart from those defining new allowances for members, and budgets for the coming year are only beginning to take shape. It is not surprising that over 50 percent of Poles claim that nothing has changed in their immediate area and in their gminas since the self-government elections and the appointment of new local governments. Remaining respondents tended to notice changes for the better. A poll carried out by the Social Research Laboratory [PBS] for RZECZPOSPOLITA reports on what the public feels about the new authorities and the respondents' general attitudes rather than specific achievements of the new self-government.*

This is not surprising because, at the time the poll was taken, only three months had elapsed since the elections, and local executive powers—gmina heads, mayors, and presidents—have been in office for an even shorter period, if nominated at all. In view of the above, it is too difficult to say whether things changed for the better or for the worse as a result of the activities of newly elected local authorities.

Premature Judgments

The majority of Poles try not to judge the achievements of the new self-government too hastily. People tend to claim that nothing has changed and that the new authorities in gminas are no different from their predecessors (51 percent, according to a PBS poll carried out in August) or refrain from giving an opinion. It is worth remembering that, as early as August, nearly one in four respondents claimed that the new authorities were different, mainly because "they are more concerned about the well-being of people in the gmina" or because "they get along better." The latter statement was rare among inhabitants of larger cities.

Four years ago, after the local elections of 1990, many gminas suffered a long period of absence of leadership due to divisions within the local councils, which were therefore unable to appoint chairmen. That affected primarily small gminas, where the council consisted in equal part of councillors from civic committees and individuals with no party adherence (which then turned out to be close to the Polish Peasant Party). In major centers, the committees hardly had any rivals to speak of. This time, problems appeared primarily in large cities, where no group was usually strong enough to take over rule on its own, and creating a coalition was extremely difficult. Such a situation developed in Warsaw, for instance.

The Country Is Not Well Off; The Gminas Fare Better

Over 60 percent of Poles estimate that the country is headed in the wrong direction (according to a poll carried out by the Center for Research of Public Opinion [OBOP] at the beginning of October). In such a situation,

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a 10-percent negative opinion on gminas seems a good result. Moreover, self-government remains the most highly acclaimed public institution (in an OBOP poll in October, it was preceded only by the Army, the ombudsman, and the police), as well as the most esteemed governmental agency. Opinions have not changed much since self-government was established.

Same or Different

It is beyond doubt that the present self-government has already shown itself to be different from the previous one. The political character of new gmina councils is far more varied. More groups have managed to introduce their councillors, the influence of parties represented in the central government is far larger than four years earlier, and the influence of opposition parties is greater in the current parliament. Therefore, nearly all of the parties consider the results of the last campaign a success. A majority of councillors in major cities are from the Freedom Union, rightist parties, or the cogoverning Democratic Left Alliance. The Polish Peasant Party dominates in smaller cities and villages, although its representatives did not run as its members. We are only beginning to see what the attitudes of councillors really are.

The party criterion does not, however, account for the feelings an average citizen has toward his council. As polls and observations show, many, if not most, people prefer to vote for an individual they know rather than for a specific party—hence, differences in the results of local elections and projections for the parliamentary campaign. It is worth remembering that just before the local elections, only 14 percent of respondents polled by the PBS declared that their preferences depended on the party affiliation of the candidate.

After self-government elections in your gmina:	
Things are going in the right direction	23 percent
Things are going in the wrong direction	9 percent
Nothing has changed	51 percent
Difficult to say	17 percent/

* * *

The author used OBOP polls and monthly reports by the PBS compiled exclusively for RZECZPOSPOLITA, the latest dated 17-18 September, on a sampling group of 1,040 individuals representative of the adult population of Poland.

Rightist Leaders Discuss Situation in Right Wing

WS2010144594 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Oct 94 p 2

[Article by M.D.Z.: "Kaczynski, Czarnecki, Parys; On Government and Coalitions in Right Wing"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "In Poland, there are two political centers that are harmful and laughably incompetent: the Belweder and the government," believes Jaroslaw Kaczynski. According to the Center Accord [PC] leader, the country needs not only a new president, but also a new parliament.

Even though he is against frequent elections, Kaczynski believes that the government formed by the present parliament, is paralyzed (which is proved by the inability to appoint a new police head) and incompetent (this is proved by the scandal concerning Prime Minister Pawlak's visit to the United States).

The PC leader appeared along with Conservative Coalition [KK] Chairman Kazimierz Ujazdowski at a joint press conference. Both parties belong to the rightist Covenant for Poland [PdP], which also encompasses the Christian-National Union [ZChN], the Movement for the Republic [RdR], and the Polish Peasant Party-Peasant Accord [PSL-PL]. The current...

Crisis Within the PdP

...is linked to the relation to the RdR's Romuald Szeremietiew, who said he was ready to assume the office of head of the Defense Ministry in the Pawlak government. Against the ZChN and the PSL-PL, the PC and the KK are in favor of removing Szeremietiew from the PdP for this declaration. "The RdR violated the principle of practical anticommunism. This party, in its shape today, does not contribute much new to the PdP anyway," Kaczynski argued yesterday. Ujazdowski stated that the PC and the KK could not see any possibility of cooperating with rightist groups that form an alliance with the Democratic Left Alliance and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] (they meant the local coalition of the Union for Real Politics—UPR, the Movement of the Third Republic, and the Confederation for an Independent Poland—KPN, which, along with the left wing, led to the election of Mieczyslaw Bareja as Warsaw mayor). They cannot see the possibility of cooperating with parties that support the idea of the Army's taking over political power and that are in favor of the candidacy of Lech Walesa for president. As for the last issue, the KK and the PC are not certain of the opinion of the ZChN. Now they are waiting for the party's stance to become clear, which is to happen at the party's congress in January 1995, at the latest.

If the ZChN continues to be against...

Removing Szeremietiew

...from the coalition, and if it does not unequivocally cut itself off from Walesa, Kaczynski and Ujazdowski will not defend the existence of the PdP at any cost.

ZChN Leader Ryszard Czarnecki also held a press conference yesterday. According to him, there is no split within the PdP. "The dispute between the ZChN and the PC is over the functioning of Szeremietiew's party within the coalition," Czarnecki conceded. However,

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there is also the problem of how the right wing should be integrated. The ZChN demands that talks with the Accord of 11 November (UPR, Conservative Party, Peasant-Christian Party, Party of Christian Democrats—PChD, National-Democratic Party) be held as soon as possible, whereas the PC and the KK do not want these negotiations, first of all because of growing animosity between the PC and UPR.

Also, leaders of the Secretariat of Center Rightist Groupings [SUC] discussed the possibility of establishing a rightist alliance on Wednesday. Andrzej Anusz is hoping to form a...

"Constitutional Front of Refusal"

...around Solidarity ["S"]. The most immediate goal of this front would be to organize a prereferendum campaign against the future parliamentary bill of the Basic Law. SUC (made up of several minor parties, such as Christian Democracy-Labor Party, Party of Faithfulness to the Republic—KSN [not further identified], and the Polish Union, and where member observers are "S" and Olszewski's RdR) has already held negotiations about this with Szeremietiew's RdR and Laczkowski's PChD. Anusz also expressed his satisfaction with the fact that preliminary talks had been started between UPR, which had so far been antiunionist, and "S."

Jan Parys, in turn, believes that the Polish political scene is assuming a bipolar character. "When the conflict over the Armed Forces broke up, the PSL was forced to look right," the RTR leader said. According to him, the "anticommunist" side of the political scene will include, apart from the center right, Pawlak's party, "S," and the church.

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Army Prepares for Theoretical Enemy From East

AU2010213894 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 18 Oct 94 p 1

[Report by Oana Maiuga: "The General Staff of the Ground Forces Carries Out a Counter Strike Against an Enemy Coming From the East"]

[FBIS Translated Text] From 18 to 20 October, the General Staff of the Ground Forces will be performing tactical exercises under the supervision of the Armed Forces General Staff.

As part of those exercises, the Ground Forces General Staff will be responsible for composing an "Operations Plan for the Execution of a Counter Strike" against an enemy that penetrated our national territory in two places, in the eastern and southeastern part of Romania. The violation of national territory was carried out at depths varying between 10 and 75 km, the fronts measuring 50-100 km. The entire maneuver is being led by Lieutenant General Gheorghe Grigoras, commander of the Ground Forces General Staff.

Thus, should a state of war be declared, the Armed Forces General Staff will be turned into an Armed Forces General Headquarters, while the Ground Forces General Staff will become the Ground Forces Command.

The counter strike action of the Romanian Armed Forces is directed against an enemy that penetrated the country in the east and southeast rather than in the western part of the country, as it used to be in drills executed before 1989.

Radio Notes Moldovan Criticism of Leadership

AU2010171194 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 20 Oct 94

[Dispatch by Mircea Motrici from Chisinau]

[FBIS Translated Text] CSCE Secretary General Wilhelm Hoynck is continuing his visit to Moldova. His first meeting this morning was with Prime Minister Andrei Sangheli. During the talks, the sides exchanged views on the CSCE role in consolidating security and deepening cooperation in the European space.

Reiterating the readiness of the Republic of Moldova to contribute, along with other states, to developing this body—the communique released by the government's press service points out—Mr. Sangheli said that certain progress has been made of late in overcoming the differences with Tiraspol. He added, quote: The acceleration of this process is also influenced by certain external factors, one of which is Romania's position vis-a-vis the Republic of Moldova. Various recent statements made by high-ranking dignitaries from Romania, including the head of state, can only raise bewilderment and concern. These statements actually deny the existence of the Republic of Moldova as a sovereign and independent state and of the Moldovan people as a nation. By insistently ventilating the idea of Moldova's unification with Romania, Bucharest is deliberately or unconsciously encouraging the separatist forces in the republic, thus offering the separatist leaders the necessary pretexts for sticking to their initial positions. Seen in a broader context, such statements cannot possibly contribute to the process of consolidating stability and security in this region, end of quote.

I would like to add in this dispatch that the CSCE secretary general was also received today by Mr. Petru Lucinschi, speaker of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova.

SIE Officer Reportedly Behind Letter to Senate

AU2010183194 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 17 Oct 94 p 7

[Report by Dan Vartopeanu: "The Author of the Letter of the 'Seven' is the Romanian-American Victor Gaetan, Officer of the Foreign Intelligence Service]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the New York weekly FREE WORLD, the main author of the "letter of the seven" [letter sent by seven Romanian parliamentarians, backed by the Romanian National Unity Party, to the U.S. Senate on 22 September, protesting the appointment of Alfred Moses as the new U.S. ambassador to Romania] is the "American" Victor Gaetan (son-in-law of the leader of the Democratic Group in the U.S. House of Representatives, Mrs. Barbara Kennelly), a controversial figure, suspected by the U.S. authorities of being an officer of the Romanian Foreign Intelligence Service [SIE].

When the letter of the seven was conceived, Gaetan was sojourning in Bucharest, where he contacted the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR] leaders, headed by Senator Adrian Motiu. As a matter of fact, PUNR Vice President Ioan Gavra publicly recognized that "he is the man through which we communicate and he is one of our channels of communication with the United States." Since the designated ambassador to Romania said that PUNR is an anti-Hungarian and nationalist party, Victor Gaetan handed over to Senator Motiu incriminating documents denouncing Alfred Moses as a close collaborator of Ceausescu. The same publication claims that both the presidency and the government were informed about the content of the letter—something that the PUNR leaders have actually said from the very beginning—without any reaction coming from these institutions.

After protests began to be heard, including from the presidency, Ion Iliescu was contacted during his visit to the United States by Messrs. Suian [PUNR senator] and Motiu at Mrs. Kennely's cabinet, where the president was attending an official lunch and told that his meetings of the day (Tuesday, 27 September) had been arranged by the PUNR lobby. In practical terms, Victor Gaetan

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had the mission of preparing and organizing the presidential visit. In spite of all this, the U.S. magazine writes, the entire visit barely had a impact in the United States and was only speculated by certain political circles as an opportunity to level accusations at the Clinton administration.

Outbreak of Hepatitis-A, -B Epidemic Reported

AU1910144694 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 14 Oct 94 p 14

[Report by Maria Timuc: "Outbreak of Hepatitis Epidemic"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] "This fall a hepatitis epidemic has broken out both among adults and children. We expect the number of the sick to grow over the coming weeks," Petre Calistru, the director of the Victor Babes hospital in Bucharest, told us.

Currently there are 100 to 130 hepatitis patients lying in the N. G. Lupu and Victor Babes hospitals. Moreover, in some of the hospitals for contagious diseases throughout the country the number of patients who have caught the A- or B-type hepatitis virus exceeds 20 (as in the case of the Bistrita-Nasaud county hospital.)

The predominant type this year is the A-type (digestive) virus, which spreads via contaminated objects, water, or foodstuff. [passage omitted]

Workers in Turkey Source of Country's Cholera

AU2010120994 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 17 Oct 94 p 1

[Report by Oana Grozuta: "The Health Ministry Announces: The Cholera Hotbed in Our Country Originates From a Brick Factory in Turkey"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to a communique sent to our editorial staff by the Ministry of Health, the source of the cholera cases in Romania is the Bilgher-Toprak brick factory in the Turkish village of Kumba situated 17 km north of the locality of Tekirdag, where 80 Romanian workers were also employed. Seven Romanians also fell ill when a cholera epidemic broke out in that area, one of whom died. As a consequence of this the factory was closed.

On Saturday and Sunday [15 and 16 October] at the Vama Veche border checkpoint in Constanta County the Frontier Medical Police discovered 23 suspected of having various diseases, out of which 14 were carriers of cholera.

In conclusion the communique signed by Health Minister Iulian Mincu appeals to all persons who were at Kumba-Tekirdag and returned to the country after 6 October to go to the hospitals for contagious diseases in their counties so that carriers of cholera could be separated in due time in order to prevent the spreading of the disease.

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Izetbegovic Calls For Continuation of War

LD2010182394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1731 GMT 20 Oct 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Doboj, Oct. 20 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic has again called for the continuation of the war and the liberation of the entire Bosnia-Herzegovina, a local Muslim radio station said.

In a program monitored Wednesday on Mt. Ozren, Izetbegovic demanded the start of "the planned operation for the liberation of the entire Bosnia-Herzegovina" regardless of outside pressure.

Izetbegovic had returned from touring the Tuzla area and Muslim troops stationed there.

The Bosnian Serbs currently control about 70 percent of Bosnia while the "Contact Group" plan for Bosnia gives them 49 percent of the territory and 51 percent to the Muslim-Croat Federation.

The Sarajevo Muslim government has so far violated all ceasefire agreements and called for the continuation of the war against the Bosnian Serbs in a bid to create a "united Bosnia" which would exist under Islamic laws.

Karadzic: No Reason To Delay Peace Process

LD2110115194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1127 GMT 21 Oct 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Oct. 21 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb republic President Radovan Karadzic has said there are no reasons for delaying the peace process in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In a statement carried by Bosnian Serb TV-radio in Banja Luka Thursday, Karadzic said the Bosnian Serb republic would continue the peace process but from an altered position.

He was addressing a session of the regional committee of his Serb Democratic Party of Serb Lands, held in Banja Luka, a city in western Bosnian Serb republic.

Karadzic said that now, after the "Contact Group" map for the territorial division of Bosnia-Herzegovina was refused by Bosnian Serbs at their referendum in August, there was no one, as he put it, to accept the map.

He said international factors could either exempt the Muslims from the U.N. arms embargo, which he said was ineffective anyhow, or shoot at the Serbs.

However, said Karadzic, there might be amendments to the plan made acceptable to the Serbs.

He said there was no excuse for procrastination, as the Bosnian Serbs would not accept the plan as it was.

Karadzic said he believed the plan would have failed much earlier had it not been supported by Yugoslavia and the sanctions against the Bosnian Serb republic introduced.

He said the sanctions had caused more political than economic damage, as the plan was "like a still-born sustained in artificial life."

Yugoslavia broke off all ties with the Bosnian Serb republic in early August for its refusal of the plan which envisaged 51 percent of the territory for the Muslim-Croat federation and 49 percent for the Bosnian Serbs, who control 70 percent of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Karadzic said the Bosnian Serb republic would embark on new talks only on an equal level with previously set principles by which the new negotiations and conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina would evolve.

Rules Out Accepting Maps

LD2010224494 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2140 GMT 20 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] While the entire diplomatic world is trying to find a formula for forcing Bosnian Serbs to accept the peace plan, Karadzic sends this message from Banja Luka:

[Begin Karadzic recording] We can see that the Contact Group is just wasting its time and constantly trying to do something without success, hoping that Serbs would accept the proposed maps without any alterations. I think that we can give them a perfectly official message from here: After the referendum there is no one who has the right to accept the maps without alterations. [end recording]

Calls Sanctions 'Futile'

LD2010172894 Sarajevo Radio Republike Srpske Program for Abroad in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 20 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Last night, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic, assessed the economic and information blockade imposed by the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] against the Srpska republic as a futile act that cannot be justified nor made up for by anything. In talks in Banja Luka with directors of large state-owned enterprises about the current economic situation in the republic, Karadzic stressed that the FRY Government imposed the economic and information blockade on the Srpska republic despite the obvious fact that the international community itself did not envisage such a form of embargo.

It is indisputable that the international sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro are cruel, unjust, and hard. But it is likewise indisputable that the economic and information blockade imposed on the Srpska republic by the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is a

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futile act, because such a form of embargo was not envisaged by any UN resolution, President Karadzic stressed.

According to him, the United Nations envisaged that the FRY should deprive the Srpska republic of military aid and political support, but not of economic and information cooperation. Therefore, the conclusion can be reached that a part of the FRY leadership is trying to be more Catholic than the pope himself, President Karadzic stressed, noting that the Srpska republic will remain true to its policy that not a single ugly word be uttered against Serbia and Montenegro, because it is certain that a large majority of the local population there supports the Srpska republic.

Replaces SDS Official

AU2010212194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The criminal Radovan Karadzic, president of the self-proclaimed Srpska republic, yesterday replaced Goran Hadzic, a prominent official in the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] and a leading man in occupied Slavonia, who took Milosevic's side in the Pale-Belgrade conflict and sharply criticized the dictatorial obstinacy of the frustrated psychiatrist.

Criminal Karadzic has also disbanded the Coordination Council of the SDS branch for Slavonia, Baranja, and Srem, because if failed to obey the Pale regime. This has been learned by ONASA's [OSLOBODJENJE NEWS AGENCY SARAJEVO] correspondent in Belgrade, citing BORBA.

After the well-known conflict with a section of the SDS in Banja Luka and Krajina, and the openly expressed opposition to the criminal Karadzic in Slavonia, Baranja, and Srem, which are Croatian territories occupied by the paramilitary formations of the SDS, the criminal Karadzic can only count on support in east Herzegovina and east Bosnia, including Mount Romanija.

However, the behavior of the leading men in the SDS in east Herzegovina depends completely on the behavior of official Montenegro.

General Threatens UN Over Possible Air Strikes

AU2010162194 Paris AFP in English 1557 GMT 20 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Brussels, Oct 20 (AFP)—NATO and the United Nations are nearing a compromise on approving "harder-hitting" air strikes against Bosnian Serbs, diplomatic sources said here Thursday.

Meanwhile a Bosnian Serb general warned that any intensification of NATO air strikes would mean that UN troops would find themselves in a "delicate position."

General Manojlo Milovanovic, in an interview with a Serbian newspaper [VECENJE NOVOSTI] published in Belgrade, said he believed the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) feared it would come under attack from all sides in the Bosnian conflict if the stance over NATO air strikes was toughened.

The compromise between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the United Nations following several weeks of disagreement would make it possible to carry out "more effective" air strikes in the future made "without systematic warning," the sources said.

They added that "a group of four pre-determined targets" would be hit.

The North Atlantic Council, made up of the permanent ambassadors of the 16 NATO member states, was due to give formal backing on Friday to the idea of a new meeting with the United Nations to "negotiate" the agreement, several sources said.

A meeting took place in New York on Monday during which each side stated its position. Discussions continued on Wednesday, a diplomat said, with a telephone call between UN secretary-general Butrus Butrus-Ghali and his NATO counterpart Willy Claes, who has just taken up his duties in Brussels.

Since an exclusion zone was established around Sarajevo in February, from which heavy weapons are banned, NATO has hit ground targets on four occasions. Each time the strikes were preceded by warnings to the Bosnian Serbs.

For UNPROFOR, the current half-hour warning before an air strike is launched makes it possible to limit collateral damage, to housing nearby for example, and to maintain contact with the warring parties.

But NATO, seeking to establish its credibility in its first participation in a peacekeeping operation since the end of the Cold War, believes that the advance warning puts at risk the lives of the pilots flying its combat aircraft, as they are easy targets for ground-to-air missiles.

Izetbegovic Visits 'Newly Liberated Areas'

AU2010200494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Oct 94

[Unattributed report from the Press Center of the 3d Corps]

[FBIS Translated Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, today visited some units of the 3d Corps of our army and the newly liberated areas.

Accompanied by Army General Rasim Delic, commander of the Supreme Command of the General Staff, and Brigadier Sakim Mahmuljin, commander of the 3d Army Corps, President Izetbegovic spent several hours in the newly liberated area.

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Brigadier Mahmuljin first briefed President Izetbegovic on the successes of the fighters of the 3-North Operations Group since the beginning of October. The president witnessed these by visiting the new positions. After that, he spent some time with the fighters and officers of the 7th Glorious Muslim Hill Brigade. Although he did not intend to make speeches, as he himself said, President Izetbegovic congratulated the soldiers of this glorious brigade on their new victories.

One day, when the history of our struggle for freedom comes to be written, the name of the 7th Muslim Brigade will be written in golden letters, President Izetbegovic said, stressing that the residents of Sarajevo will never forget the role of that unit in saving the town a year ago and preventing the aggressor from putting a noose around Sarajevo.

Today, we are using a road that you saved. The residents of Sarajevo will not forget this, Mr. Izetbegovic said at the end of his speech.

After that, the delegation went to the Command of the 3d Army Corps, where the members of the Command briefed the president in detail on the situation on the fronts in the theater of operations of the 3d Corps. It was necessary to stress that the units of this corps have liberated 50 square kilometers in the last 20 days.

Ganic Meets With British Delegation

AU2010200594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Ejup Ganic, member of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and vice president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, today received Collin Blake, member of the British prime minister's cabinet, Robert Barnett, British ambassador to Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Stephen Brooking, high-ranking diplomat in the Foreign Office.

Dr. Ganic briefed the British delegation on the political and military situation in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the official policy stands regarding the peace solutions to the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

They also discussed British views on the situation in our country and London's stand on the lifting of arms embargo on the Army of Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Bosnian Serbs Claim Arrests, Confiscate Arms

AU2010152794 Paris AFP in English 1509 GMT 20 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct 20 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs said Thursday they had dismantled an "illegal organisation" holding arms and explosives and operating in the self-proclaimed "Serb republic" of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA, monitored in Belgrade, said the "interior ministry of the Serb republic" announced in a communique the arrest of "members of an illegal group that has committed numerous offences aimed at hindering the functioning of state institutions and undermining confidence in these institutions."

According to the quoted statement the group was accused of "planting explosives, passing on state secrets, abusing authority, falsifying official documents, illegal arrests, banditry and illegal possession of arms and official documents."

During searches Bosnian Serb authorities discovered "large quantities of arms, ammunition, explosives, forged documents, communications material and listening devices."

No details were given on the number or identities of those arrested nor when or where the operations took place. The statement said the majority of those arrested "belonged to the armed forces of the Serb republic or were deserters" and that some were "members of the former Tajfun (Typhoon) information centre."

On Tuesday the Yugoslav newspaper VECERNJE NOVOSTI said that the "Tajfun information centre" was created just over a year ago on the instruction of Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, then shut down "for unknown reasons."

The newspaper, in the same article, said that its correspondent in Banja Luka had been arrested on October 2 and there had been no trace of him since.

The newspaper said the journalist, Boro Maric, was arrested the same day as around 40 people from the "Tajfun information centre."

Trial on War Crimes Adjourned Until 5 Dec

AU2010173294 Paris AFP in English 1707 GMT 20 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Salzburg, Austria, Oct 20 (AFP)—Western Europe's first trial on war crimes in former Yugoslavia was opened and adjourned here Thursday to enable prosecutors to gather more evidence, authorities here said.

Prosecutors obtained an adjournment of the trial of the 26-year-old Bosnian Serb defendant until December 5 in order to call on additional witnesses and consult with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia based in The Hague.

The defendant, Dusko Cvjetkovic, who is charged with genocide, fled to Austria a year ago as a political refugee but was spotted here by the brother of one of his alleged victims.

He is accused of murdering a 19-year-old Moslem in 1992 at Kucice, a village to the north of the Bosnian capital Sarajevo.

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The prosecution case rests heavily on the testimony of Remzo Husanovic, a 50-year-old Bosnian Moslem, whose statements Court Chairman Eckehart Ziesel described as "contradictory."

Defence lawyer Guenther Stanonik said Thursday he planned to bring proceedings against Husanovic for false testimony and defamation of his client.

When interviewed by police, Husanovic said he saw Cvjetkovic fire "several shots" at his victim, but he told the court that only one shot was fired.

And Husanovic's brother said in video evidence presented Thursday that Cvjetkovic was not the killer.

Cvjetkovic also faces charges of "complicity to murder" another Moslem resident of the same village, of deporting two civilians to a nearby concentration camp where they died, and of looting and torching properties.

He faces life imprisonment if found guilty on the charges, which he denied in court Thursday.

Stanonik presented the court with a United Nations list of concentration camps in former Yugoslavia, which contained no reference to a camp near Kucice.

But prosecutors earlier said they had a video of the accused taken after a massacre at Kucice and a list of 65 Serb fighters with Cvjetkovic's name at the top, suggesting he led a paramilitary group.

Though war crimes trials have been held in Belgrade and Sarajevo, Cvjetkovic's is the first covering atrocities in the former Yugoslavia to take place in a western European court. Two others are pending in The Hague and Copenhagen.

Austria's Supreme Court declared that the case fell under the Salzburg court's jurisdiction, ruling that Austrian justice could replace a Bosnian judiciary not in a position to hear the case.

The defendant, who was arrested in Austria on May 18, cannot be extradited to Bosnia as there is no extradition treaty between the two countries, the Supreme Court added.

'Heavy Fighting' Reported on Gradacac Front

AU2010192894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Oct 94

[Unattributed report]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Heavy fighting is under way on the eastern part of the Gradacac front. The newly arrived aggressor's forces are trying to take the initiative and make a breach deep into our territory with armored-mechanized vehicles and infantry. All types of weapons are pounding the positions of our fighters, especially tanks, mortars, and howitzers.

Reinforcements are constantly arriving from the direction of Pelagicevo and Obudovac, but all this is without any effect. The attacks from the direction of Turici are still going on. The town's center is being shelled with howitzers from Belovo Polje.

Our fighters are scrutinizing all the chetniks' attempts to gain better positions needed for the continuation of the offensive with effective, rational, and well-planned fire.

The aggressor's losses so far are immeasurable. In the last four days, several dozens of chetniks have been put out of action. A large quantity of arms and equipment was also captured. [passage omitted]

The defense lines on the Gradacac front are under full control of the defenders.

Infantry Attacks Reported

AU2010161294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The 4th day of the aggressor's offensive on Gradacac does not differ in any way from the previous ones. The chetniks carried out most attacks on the east and south parts of the front, using all available heavy weapons, while infantry attacks are taking place one after another.

These fierce attacks by the so-called most elite chetnik units, which are aimed at expanding the corridor, have been going on all day. At the same, the chetnik long-range artillery have been keeping the town and the surrounding area under fire.

This was reported by the Information Service of the 107th Chivalrous Motorized Brigade of Gradacac.

Serbian Offensive Continues

AU2110103694

[FBIS Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 21 October reports the following combat situation in the republic overnight and in the morning:

The Information Service of 107th Chivalrous Motorized Brigade Gradacac reports that "yesterday's enemy offensive on the eastern part of defense continued overnight. The enemy was attacking with all means available," the service says, adding that "some 10 infantry attacks were carried out in the area of Liporasce yesterday, which the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army successfully resisted, inflicting fresh losses in manpower on the aggressor. The morning is identical to yesterday. The aggressor is trying to close its ranks Since early morning, he has been preparing the ground by shelling from howitzers, mortars, and guns." In the conclusion, the service adds that "our fighters are successfully guarding the positions achieved while their moral and determination are at the highest possible level."

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The Press Center of the 3d Corps reports that "the last 24 hours on the battlefields within the theater of operations of the 3d Corps passed in sporadic artillery attacks of the rebel Serbs on the recently liberated territories."

Reporting from the 206th Chivalrous Zvornik Brigade, Nijaz Banjanovic says that "the aggressor yesterday exhibited provocative fire from infantry arms and antiaircraft arms at the first defense lines of the free Zvornik territory. In the evening they fired a few mortars from the area of (?Malesic) at Vitinica. The Night and early morning passed with the usual infantry arms provocations."

Bosnian Army Poised To Enter Teslic

AU2010162794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Let us remind ourselves once again. Yesterday, our fighters, members of the 3d Corps of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, liberated another 25 square kilometers southwest of Teslic, liquidated some 20 chetniks, and captured large amounts of weapons.

As our correspondent Mirudin Aldobasic reports, there are only several hundred meters before members of the 7-South Operations Group and the joint units of the 3-North Operations Group of the 3d Corps of our army link up at the very entrance to Teslic. For this reason, there is a real chaos in the town.

The Command of the 7-South Operations Group of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina has issued a statement that our fighters have orders not do anything to frighten the residents of that town when they enter Teslic. All residents of Teslic, except those who have committed crimes, are guaranteed maximum protection.

Advance Detailed

AU2110124394

[FBIS Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1100 GMT on 21 October reports combat activities in the following areas:

Reporting from the Information Service of the 7 South Operations Group, Mirudin Aldobasic says that "with the swiftness and intensity not yet witnessed in our counterattacks, the defenders not only dispersed the chetniks and completely thwarted their intentions but also conquered new territories last night. The positions of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army soldiers are currently right in front of Hotel [word indistinct] in (?Banja Vrucica), while the front line has also moved toward Crnjak, the last settlement at the entry to the Teslic. What used to be a big Muslim settlement is now standing empty because the Serbs, faced with fierce onslaughts of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army soldiers, have abandoned it. Therefore, the united units of the 7 South Operations Group are charging on and advancing very successfully toward the center of Teslic and (?Banja Vrucica)."

A report by the 4th Corps Information Service claims that "all of yesterday afternoon this region, especially the Prigradjani-Rosci road, has been subjected to artillery attacks from tanks and mortars. In the Glavaticevo part of the front, the chetniks pounded our lines from tanks that are positioned in the area of Kopusin, [word indistinct]." The Information Service also accounts for "increased intelligence and saboteur activities, and concentration of manpower and military hardware along the 4th Corps defense line," which suggests looming new Serbian offensives.

Muhamed Mulic reports from Bihac that "within the theater of operations of the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army the Serbian aggressor has continued offensive activities along all front lines. The area of Grmusko-Srbljanski Plateau has been exposed to enemy artillery attacks and more than 40 projectiles from mortars and hill guns have been fired at our first defense lines." He continues to report that "from the well-known strongholds [words indistinct], and Brezik the enemy has been shelling parts of Bosanska Otoka with tank shells, while he has been pounded the hinterland of the free Bihac territory with long-range artillery. In the Grabez Plateau the chetniks are provocatively firing infantry arms and there is also sporadic fire from artillery."

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Akashi: Zagreb, Krajina Held 'Secret' Meetings

AU2010211394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] UN Special Envoy Yasushi Akashi expects a new peace plan for Croatia to be drafted in the near future. In the UN headquarters in Zagreb, Akashi said that a mini-contact group—consisting of the United Nations, the Contact Group, the European Union, the United States, and Russia—is working on the plan.

The plan should replace Cyrus Vance's peace plan that went into effect in 1992, but has never been applied in practice.

Prior to that, in an interview for an independent Rijeka newspaper, NOVI LIST, Akashi said that the new plan should make easier the rapprochement of Croatia and the authorities in the regions under Serb control.

He stressed that the representatives of Zagreb and Krajina held several secret meetings. So far Zagreb has been categorically denying reports on such meetings. If the new plan is accepted by both sides, the role of the peace forces in Croatia could be changed, Akashi said.

Talks With Serbian Krajina To Resume 'Soon'

LD2110114394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1040 GMT 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 21 Oct (TANJUG)—U.S. Ambassador in Croatia Peter Galbraith, who is on an unofficial visit to Knin, said in a brief statement for journalists after talks with Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], that the Krajina-Croatia dialogue will be resumed soon.

The talks were held last night behind closed doors. They dealt with a broad range of economic and political issues of mutual interest in the relations between Knin and Zagreb, Galbraith stressed.

He said that the forthcoming talks between Knin and Zagreb are a continuation of the negotiating process of 22 March of this year, which, as is known, resulted in the signing of the cease-fire agreement between the RSK and Croatia.

The talks to be held next week—although Galbraith did not specify the venue—will be held under the auspices of the international conference on the former Yugoslavia; European Union representatives and the U.S. and Russian ambassadors in Zagreb will attend, Galbraith said.

Therefore, this is not a mini-contact group, because French and British representatives will not be there, but the continuation of the earlier negotiating process, the U.S. ambassador specified.

FRY Not To Interfere in Zagreb-Knin Relations

AU2010204394 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 11 Oct 94 p 3

[Report by Snjezana Canic: "The FRY Will Not Interfere in Relations Between Zagreb and Knin"]

[FBIS-Translated Text] Osijek—Zeljko Knezevic, head of the Zagreb Office of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], visited Osijek on 10 October. He met with representatives of the Regional Community of the Serbs of Slavonia and Baranja and with a group of Serb citizens. Afterwards, Veljko Knezevic met with Branimir Glavas, head of Osijek and Baranja County.

After the meeting, county head Glavas and Veljko Knezevic, head of the Zagreb Office of the FRY, held a brief news conference.

Knezevic said: "My meeting with county head Glavas, in the course of which I was informed about the situation in the county of Osijek and Baranja regarding the problem of its Serb population, was very sincere and open. Mr. Glavas convinced me that the problem is receiving enough attention and care." Knezevic emphasized that he also "presented some of his views on how to solve the problem of 'Krajina' and the occupied area of Sector East." According to Knezevic, the problem could be solved in the context of the second phase of negotiations between Zagreb and Knin. He said he would inform the FRY Government about the meeting and added that the Office of the FRY was not authorized to solve those problems. He also said that the FRY Government would not interfere in internal problems of the Republic of Croatia, but would merely point out problems that need to be solved.

Asked about his views on the SNS [Serbian National Party] and the Community of the Serbs, Knezevic pointed out that the Office of the FRY Government did not represent any party and that they had better ask county head Glavas, as Knezevic offered to him some suggestions regarding the present problems.

Glavas said he was pleased with the outcome of the meeting and pointed out that Knezevic has a clear and unbending view that the problem of occupied areas are to be solved by Croatian authorities and the FRY has no intention of interfering. Emphasizing that Knezevic's view is actually a confirmation that occupied areas are integral parts of the Republic of Croatia and that their status in Croatia is, therefore, not debatable, Glavas said Veljko Knezevic was willing and prepared to act as a mediator in the normalization of relations between the rebel Serbs and Croatian authorities, both on the local and state level.

Knezevic reacted to Glavas' statement by saying that those were not exactly his views and emphasized that problematic relations between "Krajina" and the Republic of Croatia had to be solved in the course of negotiations between Zagreb and Knin.

During the meeting, which was held behind closed doors, Miroljub Mihajlovic, president of the Community of the Serbs of Slavonia and Baranja, said that Knezevic's visit to Osijek was initiated by the Regional Serb Community and that the meeting was realized during his tour of some parts of the Republic of Croatia. According to

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Mihajlovic, Serb citizens talked about problems regarding certificates of citizenship, evictions, about Serbs being made redundant and leaving Croatia. Stefica Krstic, president of the Osijek Association of Captured and Missing Croatian Soldiers was also present at the meeting. Miroljub Mihajlovic said that Mr. Knezevic was not unaware of problems that were discussed at the meeting and that relevant bodies of the Republic of Croatia would be entrusted with solving them.

According to the Regional Community of the Serbs of Slavonia and Baranja, some 8,000 Serbs live in the area of the former municipality of Osijek, but they tend to leave the area. Mihajlovic said that allegations that the Serbs are coming back to Osijek, thus causing serious political problems, are unsubstantiated.

Asked about the view of the SNS, of the Serb Community, regarding the public appearances of Milan Djukic, Mihajlovic said that his appearances are radical from the viewpoint of the Republic of Croatia, but not from the viewpoint of the SNS and added: "Those views are closely related to the Constitutional Law of the Republic of Croatia on the rights of ethnic communities and minorities which, although based on European standards, is not implemented in practice. Djukic's views on autonomy of the Serbs in Croatia are particularly radical, but let us hope that a solution will be found eventually and that the Serbs will get a certain degree of autonomy after all."

Aid Agency To Transport to Bosnia via Dubrovnik

AU2010203694 Paris AFP in English 2016 GMT 20 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, 20 Oct (AFP)—For the first time in nearly three years a cargo vessel with food for Bosnia is to arrive early Friday in the port of Dubrovnik, World Food Programme (WFP) Director David Morton said here Thursday.

The Boris Boboschkin, a Lithuanian vessel chartered by WFP, is loaded with 3,440 tonnes of aid destined for Bosnia.

"Not only does this arrival reopen the port of Dubrovnik severely damaged by Serb shellings in November 1991, but it marks the establishment of a valuable new entry point for food aid for Bosnia at the time when aid convoy access routes are becoming more and more restricted," Morton told AFP.

The use of this port opens up another access route from the Adriatic coast to Metkovic, 90 kilometres (55 miles) west of Dubrovnik, the main warehouse and distribution point for Bosnia on Croatian territory.

Avoiding the busy port of Ploce, Morton hopes for reduced costs of shipment coming just before the third winter of war. This particular cargo donated by the United States through the World Food Programme is to provide two months' supplies of beans for Mostar, Zenica, Tuzla, Sarajevo and other besieged Bosnian cities.

Part of it will be transported to Split to be air-lifted to the Bosnian capital, said Morton.

"Because of war most companies and insurers were frightened about vessels coming into Dubrovnik," Luksa Lucianovic, a representative of Dubrovnik Tourist Bureau, was quoted by Morton as saying.

"Now that a ship is finally scheduled to arrive we are hoping that companies and tourists will want to come back and for the city of Dubrovnik this ship is a symbol of rebirth," he added.

Fight Erupts Between Assembly Deputies

LD2010202794 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 20 Oct 94

[Passages within quotation marks recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Unidentified correspondent] During the continuation of its 20th session, the Croatian Assembly's Chamber of Deputies discussed the changes and amendments to be made to the state budget this year. [passage omitted]

Drago Krpina, of the Croatian Democratic Union, says that the assembly is given less money than the government's office for interethnic relations. Let the office submit a report on its expenditures, until then its financing ought to be stopped. The extreme absurdity is, Krpina goes on to say, that the organization that speaks about the forced conversion of 15,000 Serb children to Catholicism and calls for the confederalization of Croatia is given 65,000 German marks. To this Dragan Hinic of the Serb National Party, reacted:

[Hinic—identified by caption] "You are using this opportunity to publicly slander and attack the Serb Democratic Forum. Let me just tell you, Mr. Krpina, that many thousands of Serb children in Croatia are receiving Catholic religious education under social and psychological pressure. That is a notorious thing, it is a taboo topic."

[Correspondent] These words caused an avalanche of protests, among others, by Milivoj Kujundzic:

[Kujundzic—identified by caption, of the Croatian Democratic Union] "That is a lie, Mr. Hinic. That is precisely what you have said—what is the Croatian Army doing in Donji Lapac? Donji Lapac is a Croatian place, you have to understand that. You have said that this is where you should not be—you really should not be here. You personally, not the Serbs, but you personally."

[Correspondent] Milan Djukic [chairman of the Serb National Party—SNS] also reacted, demanding less antagonism toward the SNS, going on to say that they would decide when and in what way they are going to

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leave the assembly. This dispute culminated in a fight between Drago Krpina and Dragan Hinic in the assembly's cafe. [passage omitted]

Serbs Kill One Croatian Soldier, Wound Two

LD2010114994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1051 GMT 20 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Knin, 20 Oct (TANJUG)—One Croatian soldier was killed and two wounded in a response by the Serb army of Krajina to yesterday's actions by Croatian forces in the Tenja region of eastern Slavonia, the army headquarters announced this morning.

The same source says that Serb army of Krajina border guards in the Krajina part of the separation zone near Vinkovci arrested an armed Croatian policeman who said he had "got lost" in the territory of the republic of Serb Krajina. [passage omitted]

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Electoral Commission Announces Gligorov Victory

AU2010213994 Paris AFP in English 2117 GMT 20 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Skopje, Oct 20 (AFP)—Outgoing Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov was re-elected in the first round of presidential elections, the Electoral Commission announced Thursday.

Gligorov, 77, running for the ruling left-wing coalition, easily beat his right-wing rival Ljubisa Georgijevski, aged 57, in Sunday's vote.

Of more than a million ballot papers counted from the 120 constituencies around the country, Gligorov gained 708,113 votes against Georgijevski's 195,990 with 125,471 papers declared void.

In order to win the election in the first round, according to polling rules, Gligorov needed around 693,000 votes, representing more than half of the electorate. [passage omitted]

Wins With 52.44 Percent

LD2010212094 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2100 GMT 20 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Dear listeners, in the presidential elections, 196,936 citizens voted for Ljubisa Georgijevski—which represents 14.47 percent—while 713,520 voted for Kiro Gligorov, or 52.44 percent of the overall number of votes. This means that Mr. Kiro Gligorov has been elected president of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia for the next five years in the first round of the elections.

State Television Cited on Gligorov Victory

AU2010162294 Paris AFP in English 1542 GMT 20 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Skopje, Oct 20 (AFP)—Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov is headed for first-round re-election, according to unofficial and incomplete results of last Sunday's ballot given by state television on Thursday.

Gligorov, 77, running for the ruling left-wing coalition, was well ahead of his right-wing rival Ljubisa Georgijevski, aged 57, the television report said.

Of more than 1 million ballot papers counted from the 120 constituencies around the country, Gligorov gained 708,113 votes against Georgijevski's 195,990 with 125,471 papers declared void.

In order to win the election in the first round, according to polling rules, Gligorov needed around 693,000 votes, representing more than half of the electorate.

The extreme-right nationalist VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity], the country's main opposition party, had demanded the annulment of Sunday's first round of presidential and legislative polls.

An Interior Ministry statement Wednesday said that in a meeting with its officials the party had called on the government and the electoral commission to resign and threatened to take parliament by force unless its demands were met, Macedonia radio reported.

Amid continuing delays of the announcement of the official results, tension mounted in the capital. Around 20,000 protestors demonstrated in central Skopje Wednesday night.

A team of observers from the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) earlier said voting had been marred by "blatant irregularities."

The presidential ballot was the first by universal suffrage in the former Yugoslav republic. Gligorov was elected head of state by parliament in January 1991.

The electoral commission announced that the official results would be made public on Thursday evening.

Gligorov Statement After Election Victory

LD2110014994 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2132 GMT 20 Oct 94

[Statement by Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov in Skopje following announcement of his election victory—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Thank you. Good evening to all of you, I thank [word indistinct]. First of all I would like to express my great pleasure that the first presidential elections in the Republic of Macedonia were implemented with a huge turn-out from our population—77 percent—which rarely happens even in the traditionally democratic countries. Second, I would like to note that I would likewise wish to express my pleasure that the elections have shown that our people and our voters had a great amount of confidence in my candidacy—67 percent of all those who turned out to vote in the elections voted for my candidacy.

Therefore, I wish to extend my profound gratitude first to all to the voters and our entire population. During the course of the past four years, when I was elected by the parliament as the president of our republic, I felt this support by our people. Now, following these elections, in which I was elected in the presidential elections, I feel a huge responsibility, and of course I feel honored, but I also feel a huge responsibility as I believe that this represents support for the continuation of our policy pursued so far—a policy of peace, a policy of good-neighborly relations, a policy of the affirmation of our country abroad, a policy of internal stability, security and prosperity, of coexistence, mutual understanding, and tolerance between all ethnic groups—this is what in

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the past four years has given results and was acknowledged in these elections by our people, but was also acknowledged by the international public.

I would also like to stress that my orientation is that, irrespective of national, religious, and political affiliation, I would like to be the president of all the citizens of this country, to represent all the citizens of this republic as their president, to be a factor of unity in the country, to help demonstrate through this the unity of our state, to symbolize the [word indistinct] unity. Such will be my attitude in the forthcoming period.

I believe that we need to implement this, that in the future other candidates and people who will also discharge this very responsible duty, need to continue such a tradition. Let me also tell you a few words about everything that I am facing:

I think that Macedonia needs to (?persevere). We have an extremely large amount to do, an extremely large number of tasks. Everybody knows that (?circumstances) under which we live are complex, difficult; solutions for issues on which our peace and security depend have not yet been found. However, we hope that the path leading to those solutions is nevertheless open and that problems will be overcome, including the end of the war, a resolution of our open problems with the neighbors.

Not waiting for all this to happen, while our country is taking an active part in the international arena, continuing our policy pursued hitherto—I think that in the sphere of internal affairs we should speed up the steps leading us to the implementation of those big internal reforms without which we cannot say that the present standing of Macedonia and everything that we have achieved so far secures the future peaceful, open and at the same time dynamic, speeded development of our community.

I have [words indistinct] that the orientation towards the implementation of changes, reforms in internal policy will involve the political system and will also involve the issues of civilian society and all the institutions necessary for it, all that is connected with the full functioning of market economy and institutions necessary for it: the reconstruction, modernization, and establishment of a state administration which will be efficient and able to cope with this complex issue.

We should not forget that our basic orientation for the future—to become a part of Europe, a member of the European house—requires that all these reforms be carried out in accordance with standards, models, being applied in EU member countries. This requires in all these fields that I have mentioned, an exceptional amount of work, the drawing up of modern laws which will be done by our parliament, creation of all the conditions for a full market economy, the basis of which is accelerated privatization. This is what is connected with the process of changing ownership relations, which will, of course, be followed by all social and other structural changes in society. Therefore I believe that we have an enormous amount of work to do in the sphere of internal affairs.

Our foreign policy which only [words indistinct], it still gives us several tasks:

First, our peaceful policy should be continued. We need to do whatever we are obliged to do as a UN member for the resolution of the remaining obstacles for us to become a full-fledged UN member.

Further, I think that relations with our neighbors should be our main concern. You know what our policy has been like so far and I think that it should be continued. We need to be oriented towards good-neighborly relations with all our neighbors, we need to give all of them our hand. On the other hand, none of our neighbors should have a privileged status in Macedonia, which means that our side is ready for active relations. We need to have a clearly defined attitude as regards our independence, sovereignty, and policymaking within our country by the elected people in the parliament, meaning by our people.

Further I think that in the Balkans we need to show important initiatives for the improvement of relations. Various concepts have surfaced: from various ideas on how to restore some former associations, state associations or some other, to some other ideas which, because of the overall situation in the Balkans, have emerged recently. Our initiatives must be based on the fact that only free, independent, sovereign states can regulate their relations with full equality and demand such paths of cooperation appropriate to [words indistinct] and the Balkan nations. Nothing that would be imposed as a cliche by anybody and from anywhere is something that can survive—this springs from reality.

Much blood has been shed in this area and I think that now we need to let real life speak. Borders, roads should be opened, economic, cultural, and other life and cooperation should begin, and then everyone in the Balkans, if they turn themselves towards Europe, will find there all the necessary conditions for the Balkans to finally become a real zone, a region where [word indistinct] democratic, economic, and political processes will begin which will turn the page of the Balkan history.

As regards the elections—of which only the presidential one is over—and as regards the electoral dispute, I would like to say the following: In the first round of elections only a dozen deputies were elected. This means that a majority of deputies, over 110, has to be elected in the second round, which means that all the political parties and candidates have the opportunity to fight in the meantime in an equal competition and achieve results in the second round of elections.

Therefore, every attempt to disrupt this democratic process... [pauses] Let me just mention here that what Macedonia has been famous for over the past four years

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in this area is that a stable level of democratic atmosphere was being created; these elections, their successful completion and the election of the parliament, which would reflect the will of the people, as the people expressed its will in the election of the president, would in my mind represent a huge victory for our young democracy and a fresh example to the Balkans that through persistence, with a clear political vision and creation of conditions for the real democratic life which is laden with difficulties which this period is bringing along... [pauses] We should bear in mind what has so far been very clearly said by the Council of Europe, the CSCE, [words indistinct] and all observers in Macedonia— that the election process has so far been regular, that it has reflected a democratic struggle between parties—therefore, this process ought to continue and conclude with the second round and my [words indistinct] in the same atmosphere.

Everything else would mean brushing away all our efforts so far, our achievements, and would bring us to some sort of danger. Therefore, I think that [words indistinct]. Therefore, I expect that what the people expressed [words indistinct], let me just remind you again, the turnout was 77 percent. I hope that in the second round, the turnout will even increase; all in all, as the elected president, I would like to call on all our citizens once again to express their will in the forthcoming second round of elections so that we should complete these elections in the most democratic and civilized way, thus showing both to Europe and the world that what has been happening in this country over the past four years is not an accident or an episode, but is rather a course which already has its history, and, I am convinced, a future also. Thank you. [applause]

Albanian Press Interviews Gligorov

AU2010133994 Lezhe KOHA JONE in Albanian 16 Oct 94 p 4

[Interview with Kiro Gligorov, president of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, by Andi Bejtja and Fiqiri Sejdia in Skopje; date not given: "I Am Against the Creation of Any Kind of Orthodox, Slavic, or Muslim Alliance"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [KOHA JONE] Recent opinion polls predict that you will again become president of Macedonia. What is your vision of Macedonia in the future?

[Gligorov] We must wait for the elections to say such a thing. Nevertheless, if we grant the accuracy of these opinion polls, then I will talk to you at greater length. I see Macedonia above all as a democratic state, in which citizens will have equal rights and identical responsibilities for the state. The traditional cultural and religious symbols of all nationalities will be protected. In a Macedonia with an inevitably European outlook, I am against the creation of any kind of Orthodox, Slavic, or Muslim alliance. I think that such alliances would divide the Balkans again and would turn the Balkans away from Europe. Therefore, every Balkan state must have this European outlook, because we will have peace and quality in this way.

[KOHA JONE] What do you think of the Albanians' demand to be a state-forming element.

[Gligorov] Everybody can express his aims and interests in a democratic state, and this is one of the marks of a democratic state. On the other hand, we have a Constitution suited to this state, and all European organizations have judged this Constitution to be one of the nationalities. I therefore think that the main thing in this state is for there to be dialogue, tolerance, and mutual understanding, and for people to discuss and work openly on all issues. This is the only way in which we can create mutual trust and find the best settlement.

[KOHA JONE] If the current Constitution meets the interests of the Albanians, why are the Albanians asking for it to be changed?

[Gligorov] As I told you, in a democratic state everybody has the right to express his interests and his demands, and every change is carried out according to the procedures I mentioned earlier.

[KOHA JONE] If the League for Macedonia were to win 60 percent, would you forge a coalition with the Albanian parties?

[Gligorov] Regardless of whether the League for Macedonia wins 60 percent or more, I think that we must continue on the principle that the Albanian parties should participate in the government and continue to hold joint responsibilities.

[KOHA JONE] The Republic Institute of Statistics has announced that it will publish the census results at the end of October. On what basis did you say at different rallies that the Macedonians make up 67 percent of the population?

[Gligorov] When I said such a thing, I also said that these data were not official, but provisional. This matter will be precisely determined as soon as the results are officially published under international supervision.

[KOHA JONE] Your contribution to the realization of some rights of the nationalities in Macedonia cannot be denied. However, there are still things to be done for the Albanians, such as opening a teacher training department and increasing the number of Albanian- language television programs, as you have promised. What can you say?

[Gligorov] I think that we must continue meeting those demands that are already on the way toward a solution, such as increasing the number of hours on the television. As far as education is concerned, it is in the interest of the Macedonian state to have qualified staff in the Albanian schools, so that these schools will produce pupils with a sound education.

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[KOHA JONE] Yes, but we have the impression that Mr. Gligorov allows the Albanians to build more mosques than schools.

[Gligorov] I do not have this impression, they do not need permission to build either mosques or schools. This is a free and democratic state and they can do what they want.

[KOHA JONE] The view exists in the ranks of the Party for Democratic Prosperity [PPD] that you have entered into a sort of secret coalition with President Berisha to weaken this party. On the other hand, the fractional group thinks that there is a secret coalition between you and the PPD. Which of these versions is close to the truth?

[Gligorov] I have a successful and friendly dialogue with President Berisha and I can say that we have found a common language at all our meetings. I respect Mr. Berisha above all as a democrat and a man with a European outlook. At our meetings, we have never once discussed either the PPD or Arber Xhaferi's fraction. It is absurd to ask whether I or Berisha support a party. These are Macedonia's internal parties and they have their own interests. It would be ridiculous for us to make any kind of agreement with them. The things I have supported in relations between states have never included the idea that one state can interfere and meddle in the business of a party in another state, whether an Albanian party or a Macedonian party. The Albanian parties were not created abroad. They were created here by grown-up people who know what they are doing.

[KOHA JONE] To whom does Macedonia currently feel closest, to the influence of Russia or the United States?

[Gligorov] We want to have friendly relations with both states. However, bearing in mind that Macedonia is a state with a European outlook and wishes to join NATO, and also considering the assistance Macedonia has received from the U.S. soldiers stationed here, one can see that we have very close relations with the United States.

[KOHA JONE] The Macedonian opposition believes that there exists the possibility that Macedonia might join rump Yugoslavia. What do you think.

[Gligorov] If this really were the case, why have we waited until now? Why did we let the army withdraw from Macedonia? There is no doubt that if we desired such a thing, we could have the business finished in 24 hours. My own life story testifies to this. After the war, I was thrown out of Yugoslavia, because I had a different vision for Macedonian from the people who created this postwar Macedonia. This was their feeling during the referendum and during the time of independence. This shows that we did not struggle to join rump Yugoslavia, or anybody else. We had to struggle for an independent state. However, it is normal for the opposition to spread lies in such situations, in order to sow confusion among the people. However, as you said at the outset, opinion polls show that the people do not believe these lies.

[KOHA JONE] The dialogue between Greece and Macedonia is not proceeding at the rate the two peoples would like. How do you think that this crisis can be overcome?

[Gligorov] We do not think that issues can in any way be solved from positions of force and pressure. Relations in the Balkans must be based on mutual respect and on respect for common interests, and we should do our utmost to open borders, not to impose embargoes. In this matter, you also have your experiences with Greece. Our policy and your policy is for good-neighborly relations and not for policies dictated from positions of force that can lead us nowhere. The Balkans must turn over this page of endless conflicts once and for all. Let us realize that time will wait for us no longer. However long and hard Germany may have fought with France, and Germany and Italy with Britain, they are building a common home today. I see the settlement of the Albanian and Macedonian question within this common European home, with borders becoming formalities, not through conflict. The opposite course would send us backward in every respect. We must all finally realize that the Balkans are a port of Europe and must remain so. Otherwise, they will isolate us and leave us to one side, considering us to be a region in which conflicts never end.

[KOHA JONE] Can you equate the Greek-Macedonian and the Greek-Albanian conflicts?

[Gligorov] Obviously it is a matter of two different issues, but the methods used by Greece are the same.

[KOHA JONE] There was a lot of commotion over the so-called "arms affair." What can you say to us about this?

[Gligorov] This matter too must be handled in the spirit I mentioned above. We must all articulate our demands through political methods and within the framework of the relevant institutions. We must strive for our interests within the institutions of the system. All other methods take us further away from a settlement of the question. I think they belong to the past. The Albanian population themselves do not favor internal conflict, armed conflict, or war. This is an inherited leftover.

[KOHA JONE] Mr. President, while we thank you for this interview, we are sorry to have to inform you of an unpleasant incident. Before we came here together with four other Albanian journalists, we were detained for no reason by the police, who came to the hotel and took us away in an utterly undignified fashion, obliging us to spend two hours in the Tetovo police station. When they saw that all our documents were in order, they released us, telling us that it was a misunderstanding.

[Gligorov] Thank you for telling me about such a thing, which is not at all proper for our state. Many people go to and fro from Albania, and I imagine that this incident occurred as a result of false information....

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[KOHA JONE] Yes, but we had all our documents, we did not break any...

[Gligorov] Well, here you are with the president and you are always welcome.

PDP Assesses Election Results as 'Satisfactory'

AU1910151694 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 19 Oct 94 p 2

[Unattributed report on PDP news conference in Skopje on 18 October: "Favorable Elections Results"]

[FBIS Translated Text] With the unofficial results released, the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] has achieved a satisfactory position, according to the party's analysis. It is known that two candidates have won seats, one needed just 41, another 90 more votes, while other candidates got through the first round with a good lead.

This was stated by the PDP yesterday at a news conference held in Skopje, where it was emphasized that the PDP is the only party of Albanians that will remain in the race in Skopje and Kumanovo and that, except for one constituency, it has a chance of winning in all the others.

According to the results, the PDP has nobody with whom to form a coalition in the second round and it can cooperate with the NDP [People's Democratic Party] only in two or three constituencies, assuming this party agrees, while there are no possibilities for discussions with the so-called independent candidates of the informal political group of Djaferi and Taci [who left the PDP and formed a rival party of the same name], because the "PDP does not negotiate with independent candidates."

The PDP regards the media information as "within the normal and correct boundaries," but it was emphasized that the same assessment does not refer to the national television of the Republic of Albania, which can be seen in western areas of the state, because its information is very slanted toward the informal group of Djaferi and Taci. The attitude of this television station is undemocratic and improper, and, it was pointed out, it represents direct interference in the political life of the PDP.

As for the scheduled meeting on "the truth" organized by the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Movement for Macedonian National Unity] and the DP [Democratic Party], it was said that the intention was to repeat the situation of the elections in 1990, when threats were made against Albanians at meetings between the two rounds, which helped them to get more seats in the second round. However, it was emphasized that this time the citizens of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] will not "be tricked" and that they will vote for democracy.

At the news conference there were many remarks on the election campaign, the lack of invitations, the electoral lists, rival parties' election material at the polling stations, threats to PDP observers and candidates, and so on.

'Uncertainty' After First Round of Elections

LD2010222894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2028 GMT 20 Oct 94

[By Goran Opacic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Skopje, Oct. 20 (TANJUG)—Foreign observers said Thursday elections in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia should go on to the second round despite substantial irregularities in the first.

The biggest opposition Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party of Macedonian Unity (VMRO-DPMNE) that held 38 seats in the 120-seat parliament and the Democratic Party held a protest rally in the capital Skopje on Wednesday.

The parties are threatening to boycott the second round of the presidential and parliamentary elections unless the results of the first round, held on Oct. 16, are annulled. They allege massive irregularities in the election procedure and interference of the state.

Public protests and boycotts have been condemned by head of the observer mission of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe Norman Anderson, whose views are given much prominence in the pro-government press.

The VMRO-DPMNE and the Democratic Party voiced the opinion of a dozen other minor parties when they said the vote-counting had clearly been rigged by the state.

The parties have given the government until 7 p.m. (1800 UTC) on Oct. 22 to annul the results and resign. They are asking for the resignation of the vote-counting commission and for new and separate presidential and parliamentary elections.

Political tension is growing, with analysts in Skopje saying the VMRO-DPMNE might be stoking up the passions in order to rally its supporters for the second round, called for Oct. 30.

According to unofficial information, the opposition is poised to lose heavily to the governing tripartite coalition—the Alliance for Macedonia.

Unofficially, too, there are reports that the current president, Kiro Gligorov, who has been nominated by the Alliance for Macedonia, has scored a convincing victory over his only opponent, theater director Ljubisa Georgievski of the VMRO-DPMNE.

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On the strength of the votes counted so far, Gligorov appears to have secured the support of 60 percent of the 1.3-million-strong electorate.

The state vote-counting commission is expected to give a news conference for domestic and foreign reporters later on Thursday, but the conference is being postponed from one hour to the next.

Report on Details on First Round of Elections

AU2010165494 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 20 Oct 94 pp 1, 4

["Z.P." and "M.Z."-attributed report: "105 Seats in Parliament Vacant"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the first round of the second multiparty parliamentary elections in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], there participated 37 parties and 284 independent candidates, with a total number of 1,766 candidates for 120 seats in parliament. According to unofficial information, 400 candidates made it through the second round—that is, 18 political parties and independent representatives. The following parties are still in the race for parliament after the first round of elections: Alliance for Macedonia, VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Movement for Macedonian National Unity], DP [Democratic Party], PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity], NDP [People's Democratic Party], Democratic Party of Turks, PDA [Party for Democratic Action]- Islamic Road, MAAK [Movement for All-Macedonian Action], PCERM [Party for the Full Emancipation of Romanies of Macedonia], Social Democratic Party of Macedonia, Democratic Party of Serbs, VMRO-DP [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party], VMRO-MNDS [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization- Macedonian National Democratic Alliance], DS[Democratic Alliance]-Agrarian Party, and the Democratic Party of Macedonia. There are also 64 independent candidates.

There are also 20 other parties that will be looking for a chance in the next elections after their defeat in the first round of elections. They are as follows: VMRO-Goce Delcev's, VMRO-United, VMRO-Patriotic, Civil-Liberal Party of Macedonia, Demochristian Party, Democratic Party of Yugoslavs in Macedonia, Democratic Progressive Party of Romanies, Democratic Party of Educational and Cultural Workers, Communist Party of Macedonia, Liberal Party of Macedonia, Macedonian National Front, Multiparty People's Party, New Communist Movement of Macedonia, Labor Party, Party for Social Justice, Party of the Unemployed, Republican Party, Labor Party of Macedonia, League of the Communists, Labor Agrarian Party of Macedonia, and the Party of Yugoslavs in the Republic of Macedonia.

According to data that has not yet been confirmed by the State Election Commission, after the first round of elections, the Alliance for Macedonia won 11 seats in parliament, while the Party for Democratic Prosperity is going directly into parliament with two candidates. The current incomplete and unofficial results from the state election stations say that the Alliance for Macedonia will have 97 candidates in the second round. What is even more important is that 79 of them are in first place on the list, nine are in second, five in third, and one in fourth. The VMRO-DPMNE will have 84 candidates in the second round, five of which are in first place, 41 in second, 29 in third, and six in fourth.

The Party for Democratic Prosperity has 10 first places, 12 second, three third, and six fourth out of the total number of 33 candidates that will compete in the second round. It is characteristic for the Democratic Party that it will have 68 candidates for the second round, but none of its representatives are in first place. This party has 24 candidates in second place, 32 in third, and 10 in fourth.

There will be a large number of independent candidates in the second round of elections. There will be 64 independent candidates, of which five are in first place, 12 in second, 13 in third, and 15 in fourth. The National Democratic Party has two candidates in first place, three in second, three in third, and four in fourth, which makes the total number of its candidates that will be on the list for the second round.

As far as the other parties are concerned, there is the Democratic Party of Turks with eight candidates for the second round (two are in first, one in second, two in third, and three in fourth), the Party for Full Emancipation of Romanies with one candidate in first place and one in third, the Democratic Party of Serbs with one in first and two in third, and the Liberal Party, which was independent at three election stations, won one first, one third, and one fourth place. The Democratic Party of Macedonia from Tetovo won one third and one fourth place, the Socialist Party of Macedonia won one third place, as was the case with the VMRO-DP and the Democratic Alliance-Agrarian Party, the Social Democratic Party of Macedonia has one second place, the MAAK has three third and one fourth place, while the VMRO-MNDS will have one candidate for the second round who was in fourth.

This brief publication of the results was received unofficially. However, it is necessary to point out that the results of the first round do not necessarily mean a final outcome in the second round. Of course, it will be very important for the final results if the VMRO-DPMNE and the DP fulfill their threat to withdraw from the second round of elections.

VMRO-DPMNE, DP Urge Election Annulment

AU2010163294 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 20 Oct 94 p 5

[Report by V.R.: "Either Annulment or Boycott of Elections"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] The main opposition parties in Macedonia [The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] and the DP [Democratic Party] held their announced meeting in Skopje yesterday to protest, as they said, the falsified first round of the elections. The two parties were joined by some 10 other smaller opposition parties. The meeting was attended by several tens of thousands of members, supporters, and citizens from several regions of the country. It passed in a peaceful and civilized atmosphere.

The first speaker was presidential candidate Ljubisa Georgievski. "I wish to convey only one message to you. Please have dignity. Let this meeting preserve the tradition of the joint meetings of the VMRO-DPMNE and the DP, which have always been held in perfect order and peace, and will also be in the future, too," Ljubisa Georgievski said. "At all costs, let no one allow himself to be provoked by the police, let no one go to the parliament building, because there are armored cars, several groups of specials, and the whole Macedonian police waiting to trap us there." Georgievski also asked the audience, who "booed" the police, not to be dragged into that trap because the roads of the Republic of Macedonia are blocked by armored vehicles and special units. "This means that a military coup against the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia has been activated." After that Georgievski warned that the parliament building was full of snipers, as were the surrounding balconies. "I want to greet them, too, because they also are Macedonian sons," Georgievski concluded.

"We have been talking about Macedonia for four years, and this time we are talking about democracy," VMRO-DPMNE President Ljupco Georgievski said. He added that the Assembly building was guarded by Kiro Gligorov's special guard and that 5,000 policemen had been mobilized from all over the country. He emphasized that "none of us, the leaders, has the least wish to fight with the Macedonian soldiers and policemen." The VMRO-DPMNE leader called the Interior Ministry's statement on the high risk of the meeting an attempt to intimidate the people so as to prevent them from coming to the meeting. "Now we can see who the criminals in Macedonia are," said Georgievski, "that are using the force of the police to maintain their power. They are right only in one thing: That we are going to take over power from them."

"Gather all the votes given to the VMRO-DPMNE and the Democratic Party in all election stations, and you will see that in some 80 constituencies the two parties have fewer votes than the Alliance for Macedonia," Georgievski said. "The VMRO-DPMNE has firmly decided to ask for the elections in the Republic of Macedonia to be annulled, or we shall boycott the election results," concluded Georgievski.

DP leader Petar Gosev called the first round of the elections a "state scheme to falsify the elections." He also said that this was only a public protest without any intention of going anywhere. "We shall not to come to power through either forgery or violence. We shall enter parliament only in legal and fair elections. We ask the authorities the following questions: Have they not had enough of stealing state property, apartments; have they not had enough of smuggling cigarettes, arms, gasoline.... Why did they falsify the elections? What kind of a democracy is it where half a million people cannot fulfill their right to vote, while 120,000 people who are not citizens of Macedonia were not prevented from doing it? Proceeding with the forgeries they are trying to conceal their criminal deeds, and in doing so they are making new criminal acts. They say they want a stable Macedonia. Macedonia can be stable only as a democratic state. Only legal and fair elections can contribute to the stability of the state. The forgeries and criminal acts make Macedonia unstable from the inside. We are in favor of an authority that will serve the citizens, and not oppress them. Today they want to form another one-party parliament, they want to push us back into the arms of despotism. We have organized this meeting to show that we are not going to take part in the farce they call elections '94. We shall not sit still and watch them steal the property of the citizens and sell off the name of the state. The forgers must bear their responsibility. We demand," he said, "the dark and cold winter to cede its place to the Macedonian spring."

After his speech a Memorandum that was conveyed to the Macedonian Assembly was read. It was signed by the VMRO-DPMNE and the DP, and the request was to annul the elections. Moreover, they also requested conditions for legal and fair elections to be provided. They requested the resignation of the government and the State Election Commission, and the formation of an official government that will hold regular elections and separate the presidential from the parliamentary elections. "If these requests are not fulfilled by 7 pm on 22 October, we shall not participate in the second round of the elections." This was the end of the Memorandum.

This was also the end of the meeting. A smaller group of participants spent an hour in front of the Macedonian Assembly, which was protected by the police. After some lengthy talks between them and the security officials of the VMRO-DPMNE, Ljupco Georgievski and Ljubisa Georgievski arrived and the people followed them to "St. Cyril's Church."

From there, the participants of the so-called "march of democracy" headed by Georgievski went to the square again. Georgievski thanked them, as he said, for the wonderful demonstration. At about 9:30 p.m. the people left.

Assembly Chairman Urged To Annul Elections

AU2010162894 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 20 Oct 94 p 1

["V.R."-attributed report: "The Opposition Demands Abatement of Elections"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] Last night, the largest opposition parties in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia]—the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Movement for Macedonian National Unity] and the DP [Democratic Party]—held a protest rally in the main square in Skopje, which was attended by several tens of thousands of people. Presidential candidate Ljubisa Georgievski was the first to address the audience. He strongly attacked the authorities and the Alliance for Macedonia for, as he said, falsifying the election results and he demanded that new elections be organized. He called on the people present to refrain from provocations and abuses that might be used by the authorities to discredit the opposition.

In his address, VMRO-DPMNE leader Ljupco Georgievski proclaimed the results of the first election round to be falsified and he announced a boycott of the second round if the 16 October results were not annulled.

DP leader Petar Gosev expressed his dissatisfaction with the implementation of the elections and he strongly criticized the authorities for, as he said, abusing them.

A memorandum was conveyed to the chairman of the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia with the request to annul the results of the first election round.

Editorial Examines Gosev's Present, Past Steps

AU2010215794 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 20 Oct 94 p 5

[Editorial by Julijana Kocovska: "Already Experienced Rallies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] There are many elements that point to the fact that there are some political individuals in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] that want to emulate the first elections in 1990 with regard to the current situation between the two election rounds, but with some "changes" in their manipulating of the citizens. The similarities between the events that took place in the election rounds four years ago, which were known as the "rallies of the truth," and what has now been offered by some nervous leaders and Rambo politicians, are evident. The only difference may be that Petar Gosev was not a loser at the beginning of the election race four years ago. On the contrary, he was on the other side of the barricade that he and Ljupco Georgievski are now raising at street rallies, hoping they can suspend everything and introduce a state of emergency headed by them.

This is what the "Clean hands" [Democratic Party's election slogan] and the "most awake Macedonians" should do. Otherwise, where is the connection between the plights for a state governed by law and the general annulment of the elections without legal rules and institutional procedures for mending all administrative scandals in the procedures in some election stations and posts?

Rallies of the Truth

Let us recall: Four years ago, one day after the first multiparty election round in Macedonia, the Front for Macedonian National Unity, which was composed of the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity], the MAAK [Movement for All-Macedonian Action], the People's Macedonian Party, the Labor Party, and the Party organized by Dimitar Galev, first organized a news conference and then published the following statement: "The implemented elections are not democratic, they are anti-Macedonian, prepared, organized, and implemented in such a way as to provide a victory to the regime parties and the parties of the Albanian national minority. All this is a historic shame for the Macedonian people, and it is a strong and calculated political blow to Macedonian national unity." These parties, or rather their leaders, asked that the "elections be annulled and new ones prepared, which would be implemented by an official government, as the parties of the Front required." They also published that they were "withdrawing their parliamentary candidate, while those that had already received a majority will give up further elections." The parties of the Front called on the Macedonian people to "boycott the elections," and they sent a message that "300,000 Macedonians are waiting to see what will be decided. Otherwise they will look for democracy in the streets." After that, with an Albanophobia in their hands and their mouths full of a state governed by laws and Macedonia, they organized rallies throughout the towns in western Macedonia, where in the presence of the people, they called for the anullment of the first parliamentary elections, waving the following slogans: "Down with the Albanians," "Macedonia to the Macedonians," "Let us attack Skopje," and "Down with the traitors, the People will judge them."

Compared to the Front for Macedonian National Unity and the leaders of these five parties, Petar Gosev, the leader of the then SKM-PDP [League of the Communists of Macedonia-Party for Democratic Transformation] had different ideas. After he had stated at a news conference that the beginning of the elections was a great day for Macedonia and that the SKM-PDP was satisfied with the response of voters, as well as the first unofficial results in the first election round, he said: "The party will react to some separate and individual cases that have been noticed on the day of the elections, but such reactions will not refer to the entity of the elections in the republic because, according to the SKM-PDP, the voting was carried out as usual at most of the election stations." "We do not agree with the general attack on the elections because it does not depict the truth. We do not agree with the reactions of the so- called National Front because we are waiting for the commission's final report to see the final outcome," Petar Gosev emphasized, indicating that someone is trying to introduce a state of emergency.

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The Call of Gosev

Over the next few days, the leader of the SKM-PDP was making peaceful and reasonable statements: "We expect the Election Commission to state the results of the first election round, to view all the remarks of the parties regarding the violation of the election law and to decide competently whether there were such violations. It will be in no one's favor if we imply that the elections were irregular in advance." Concerning the announcements of the parties of the Front that 300,000 people will look for democracy in the streets, Gosev then said: "The reformed communists do not possess any data on the number of people that will take to the streets, but those that are urging such a move should undertake the whole responsibility for trying to prevent this society from passing on to democracy."

In spite of all this, in spite of the reactions of the League for Democracy that "it is necessary to keep a cool head about all this because it will be an even greater catastrophe if the elections are to be fully repeated," in spite of the indication of the coalition of the reformists and the young and their leader Stojan Andov that "all failures in the implementation of the elections should be viewed, but the democratic character of the elections must not be endangered," in spite of the legal interpretations that Article 29 of the Election Law (which is till valid) does not envisage a boycott but rather a withdrawal of the candidates from elections, but only 15 days before the start of the elections, and in spite of the claims of foreign observers that "the elections in Macedonia were fair and representative and that the administrative confusion and procedural failures were separate and not the intention of the system," the Front continued to organize rallies in Macedonia. An atmosphere was being created in which the tension between Macedonians and Albanians was intensified. Buses were set up to transport people going to rallies from Gostivar to Kicevo, Struga, up to the Skopje main square, and even fascist-like slogans appeared and euphoria, and the masses were persistently urged to attack the Assembly building.

Then the SKM-PDP and its leader published a statement in which they recommended to the citizens: "Do not accept methods of Romanization of the republic in which some national chauvinists, national separatists, and self-proclaimed rescuers of Macedonia are pushing their way forward."

Over the next few days, the leadership of the VMRO-DPMNE and its leader acted as if nothing had ever happened. They dissociated themselves from the rallies, they stated in the majority of towns that the elections resembled a circus, and finally they published the following: "The VMRO-DPMNE will remain in the election race!"

Romanian or Russian Variant

Four years after all this, Petar Gosev is shoulder to shoulder with the leader of the VMRO-DPMNE, who is proclaiming these elections to be an "insolent forgery of the communists in Macedonia" and with the leader of the VMRO-United, who is threatening to implement "Romanian methods for taking over the power." Being the leader of a party that pretends to be a real opposition political formation, he destroyed its reputation by stating political inconsistencies to Macedonian Television on the very day of the elections at 1030 AM that the "elections were basically forged." With his statements that the elections were a state manipulation, that they have to be fully annulled, with his request for the formation of an official government for national salvation, and with rallies on the squares, Gosev went into the arms of those political force that are manifesting a continued non-democratic method for taking over the power. Nevertheless, he has the responsibility of the leader of a democratic party, and this is totally in contradiction with what the allied opposition forces want to occur in the capital of Macedonia—the Romanian model for taking over the power or perhaps the Russian variant of taking over parliament by force (something that the VMRO-DPMNE publicly stated), and not by democratic elections and through legal institutions.

How come Gosev, Georgievski, and the other Georgievski, as well as all the other leaders on the sidelines, have the right to annul the will of the majority of voters and suspend parliamentary democracy and the state governed by laws, that must certainly overcome all failures in the non up-dated lists, the lack of invitations, as well as all other violations of the law in some election stations? We certainly will not take a state governed by law in the parliament, in the government, and in the institutions by going to the streets, by buses that are transporting manipulated people to a populationist chaos, after which those that are responsible for such an atmosphere in the state will simply dissociate from all of it. If a political party and its leader are identifying themselves daily as a democratic party and as supporting parliamentary democracy, then they really should do so in their political actions. Gosev and the present company around him should know that democracy is not just used once, regardless of their current political intentions, but for the benefit of the citizens and the state.

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Federal

UN Sanctions Committee Bars 550 Deliveries

LD2010130294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1241 GMT 20 Oct 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New York, Oct. 20 (TANJUG)—As many as 550 requests for deliveries to Yugoslavia are blocked in the United Nations Sanctions Committee, a classified document shows.

The classified document to which TANJUG gained access on Wednesday evening shows that as many as 420 of the requests have been blocked by the United States. Second and third place on the list are shared by France and Great Britain.

The document shows that Bulgaria has the lead in terms of the number of requests made for deliveries to Yugoslavia and that it is followed by Romania, the Czech Republic and other European countries.

The document does not say for which kind of goods the requests were made, just as it does not give the reasons why the requests were either turned down or the decision on them put off.

The U.N. Sanctions Committee was formed after sanctions were imposed on Yugoslavia in May 1992, following allegations of Yugoslav involvement in the civil war in Bosnia.

The committee decides on each individual request for humanitarian deliveries to Yugoslavia, which are exempted from the sanctions.

The sanctions committee met Wednesday evening, after a long pause, to discuss a draft of new guidelines for its work in view of the recent easing of the sanctions against Yugoslavia.

The committee put off adopting the draft for the next session because it had too many items on the agenda.

It approved a number of requests for humanitarian deliveries to Yugoslavia.

A U.N. Security Council resolution on a partial suspension of the sanctions against Yugoslavia went into effect on Oct. 5. The suspension covers air links, the Bar-Bari ferry line, culture and sports.

Radicals Threaten To Boycott Parliament

LD2010184994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1445 GMT 20 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 20 Oct (TANJUG)—Tomislav Nikolic, deputy chairman of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], said today that all deputies, including the Radicals' leader, Vojislav Seselj, must be invited to the session of the Chamber of Citizens of the federal Assembly sheduled for 25 October.

The heads of all deputies' groups in the federal parliament have been informed about the content of the letter which the SRS sent to Chamber President Radoman Bozovic "so they will not start the session if Seselj is not attending," Nikolic said at a news conference.

He confirmed that the SRS federal deputies will attend the beginning of the session, but, he added, "the course of the session depends on Bozovic."

Nikolic claims that Seselj, who is serving a 30-day prison sentence, has been denied contacts with his lawyer, as well as with federal deputy, Maja Gojkovic. [passage omitted]

Serbia

Milosevic Urges Bosnian Serbs To End War

AU2010223294 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1903 GMT 20 Oct 94

[Speech by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic at the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the liberation of Serbia in Belgrade—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Esteemed veterans, dear guests, let our first thoughts at this great festivity, held on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the liberation of Serbia, be devoted to the liberation fighters. To all of those who contributed to the victory over fascism, regardless of their race, nation, religion, uniform, or the flag under which they fought for freedom. [applause]

Please, let us pay tribute to them with a minute of silence.

Let there be glory for ever for the freedom fighters. [audience responds "Glory to them"]

This year, the whole world is marking the 50th anniversary of the victory over fascism. Those people who took part in that victory and this struggle have reason to celebrate it with pride. The greatest evil of the 20th century, and perhaps the greatest evil in history, was defeated 50 years ago. Over the past 50 years, being aware of the beauty of this victory, we in Yugoslavia have been marking the remembrance of it every year, with the conviction that we have overpowered that evil, fascism, for good.

This autumn, September and October in Serbia have been marked with celebrations with which many towns in Serbia marked the days on which they were liberated 50 years ago.

During the World War II itself and immediately after it, it was remembered that the Yugoslav liberation and antifascist movement was one of the most massive and strongest in Europe and the world. The whole world recognized the heroism of the struggle of the Yugoslav peoples. Regarding that struggle, we could be justifiedly proud of it over all the years. We bear this pride today as

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well, and it is with this pride that all future generations are going to live here. [applause]

At this moment in history, we bear a responsibility to the truth and justice to cherish and glorify the memory of that glorious struggle and that heroic victory, to keep in mind that every life that was given for that struggle and that victory is equally precious, and that every sacrifice made for that struggle and that victory is worthy of greatest respect. [applause]

We who live in Belgrade are also marking the day of its liberation today. The younger generations should know that, between 1941 and 1944, Belgrade was one of the cities in the world whose citizens were subjected to the greatest suffering. In this respect, Belgrade can stand shoulder to shoulder with Leningrad and Warsaw. All antifascists and patriots were systematically arrested, tortured, and killed in Belgrade over four full years, regardless of their gender, age, national affiliation, or religious affiliation. However, Belgrade endured those years, those sufferings, and lived to greet freedom standing up straight. As long as it exists, Belgrade should celebrate the freedom standing up straight, but, if at all possible, without Belgrade or Serbia going to a new war. [applause]

Serbia's history mainly consists of wars and battles, of short interludes of peace that, seen from this perspective, seemed to be only a repose for a new war. Serbia has tired itself with war. Its children have been losing their lives for centuries. It is time for a new page in history. People and nations, both in Serbia and on the Balkan peninsula, may be considered perhaps the most suffering nations in Europe. Judging from everything, Europe was somehow least bothered by its Balkan wounds and, perhaps for that reason, it let the Balkan peoples inflict those wounds on one another all the time. It depends on the Balkan peoples themselves when they will realize that peace is the only condition for their survival. In Serbia, this awareness is of a decisive importance and it is indispensable. [applause]

During the past few years, in the process of the tragic and bloody breakdown of Yugoslavia and the civil war that was waged on a large part of its territory, Serbia has unselfishly, really openheartedly helped the Serbian people wherever it was defending its freedom and wherever it was, by giving it everything it needed. This help, in everything, to the Serbs outside Serbia proper, to Serbs in war and Serbs in peace has already become immeasurable in the material sense and even more immeasurable in the moral sense. If a solidarity can be more than brotherly, then it was this help that was sent from Serbia to its brethren in Bosnia and its brethren in krajinas [corrects himself] in Krajina, to its brethren that needed this help. [applause]

As a sign of protest against such a policy and such large aid, economic and other sanctions were imposed on Serbia, so that both grown-ups and children began to be hungry in Serbia. Meanwhile, the Serbian people in Bosnia have neared the aims of their struggle. In the civil war that was waged there, the Serbs separated from the people against whom they fought in a superior fashion. The international community has recognized both their territory and their struggle. Therefore, any further struggle would be a territorial aggression against others, a deathly and unnecessary adventure for the own people and, of course, the further tragic exhaustion of Serbia and all its citizens and the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], of course. The war in Bosnia must therefore stop.

The awareness of the need for peace as our interest should not be formed by the international community. We can hopefully achieve that awareness by ourselves, although a large part of the international community has been, lately in particular, making some really constructive and well-intentioned efforts with a view to helping peace in the former Yugoslavia. Serbia admires these efforts, being deeply aware that peace is its greatest interest. Peace in our own republic and peace for all Serbs living in the former Yugoslavia will enable prosperity for both Serbia and all nations and all people living in this area.

After the difficult years it left behind and in spite of these years, Serbia must now engage all its forces to stabilize and develop itself economically, to increase the general and individual standard of living, to modernize education and further culture, to as soon as possible connect itself with the world and European countries economically, politically, scientifically, and culturally, to open its doors to everyone and be able to enter through any door in Europe and the world, just as it used to enter them with respect.

Serbia [applause] endured the times of sanctions and the times of great denials with dignity. We did not go into such a hunger, such a crime, and such a desperation that some of our enemies in the world and some of their branches in the country prognosticated and desired. However, one should not conclude from that that Serbia is still prepared to starve, freeze, and suffer. Serbia deserves an abundance of food, modern heating, and a peaceful and calm life. Young people need modern schools, sports, and recreation. The elderly need bigger and regular pensions. Those people who are capable of working need good wages; everyone needs a higher standard of living and peace in the state, in the streets, and in families. [applause] This is the interest of our republic. [applause] And it is for that interest that we all should make an effort.

Half a century ago, Serbia waged a liberation war against the German fascist Army that set off to conquer the world and Serbia. During its entire history, Serbia exclusively waged liberation wars, but never wars of conquest. Today, too, it would defend itself, just as any other country in the world would do if it was attacked. However, if it is not attacked, it will not attack others. It does not have such needs, and it is not part of its essence. The

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struggle for freedom today is the struggle for a peaceful and richer life, one with more culture for all citizens in Serbia, any man in Serbia. With a firm belief that we shall succeed and win in this struggle for peace and development, I greet the 50th anniversary of liberation to all citizens of Serbia. [applause]

Montenegro

Djukanovic Views State's Place Within FRY

AU2010180194 Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 16 Oct 94 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Montenegrin Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic by Dragan Radevic and Novica Djuric; place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *Montenegrin Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic has given an interview to DNEVNIK editor in chief Dragan Radevic and chief of DNEVNIK's office in Podgorica Novica Djuric. The Montenegrin prime minister notably addressed the issue of the economic recovery program's implementation, the lifting of the sanctions, and the functioning of the Yugoslav federation.*

[DNEVNIK] Has the Montenegrin Government consistently implemented "Avramovic's program"?

[Djukanovic] The program for the reconstruction of the monetary system, whose concept is consistent and whose implementation has so far been consistent and responsible, has already yielded convincing results. The care devoted to the program by the team of authors, the three governments, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's [FRY] National Bank have reaped results: The wave of hyperinflation has been curbed, the market stabilized as regards supply and the fluctuation of prices; the budget deficit has been eliminated, while the overall public expenditure deficit has been significantly decreased; and finally, production has increased, and the living standard has risen perceptibly in comparison to the end of last year and the beginning of this year. These are results worthy of respect.

However, there is no room for self-satisfaction. We must not take an uncritical stance toward the program, because many times in the past, we have paid dearly for such an approach. It is clear that the program constantly faces crucial trials. In my view, two of its greatest limitations are: First, the program does not have the sufficient foreign currency backing necessary for paying the price of its implementation. This is a handicap that we have had from the start. In order to guarantee the successful implementation of the program, the foreign currency reserves of the FRY National Bank should have been at least ten times larger than the reserves we started out with on 24 January. Despite the certain progress achieved during the first months of the program's implementation—reflected in the significant increase of the foreign currency balance of the Central Bank—the lack of foreign currency continues to be the biggest objective limitation in the program's implementation. This has become evident with the recent extreme increase of the foreign currency demand, both in the industrial sphere for the import of equipment, raw and primary materials, and by citizens whose standard of living has improved and whose consumer's appetite for imported goods and foreign currency has surfaced.

The second problem stems from the fact—confirmed several times in the past eight and nine months—that on the other side of the front line, so to speak, the program is up against a frighteningly wide circle of business enterprises and individuals who have gotten used to the easy life and easy profit in conditions of hyperinflation. For them, the return to a realistic economy is the road to hell. That is why they are continuously hindering the program and are using every chance to contribute to its speedy collapse. They recognize neither the state's nor the people's interests, but only their personal interests and they are unscrupulous in this. Today, owing to the pronounced lack of foreign currency, they are attempting to awaken and stimulate the black market, thus instilling a feeling of insecurity and distrust in the citizens. They are attempting to undermine the program's very pronounced psychological dimension.

The talks we recently had at the FRY National Bank have confirmed the existence of exceptional optimism and decisiveness for overcoming the existing problems and the conviction that the program will survive because the policy we have been conducting has prevented the appearance of any basic economic or financial imbalance.

[DNEVNIK] Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic particularly addressed the process of lifting the sanctions imposed on the FRY.

[Djukanovic] I hope that the process of lifting the sanctions imposed on the FRY has seriously started, regardless of the fact that the first package for relaxing the sanctions does not contain specific reprieves for the Yugoslav economy. The significance of this move is in the political sphere because it implies the international community's decisive turnabout in conducting its policy toward the FRY. It must be clear to everyone by now that it is pointless to punish the FRY for problems that it did not instigate, and which, despite its willingness to do so, has been unable to resolve even in cooperation with the international community. In the course of the protracted and destructive war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, the FRY's comprehensive policy has consistently showed it to be a serious peaceful factor in the former Yugoslavia and the Balkans. This has finally, albeit belatedly, been recognized and acknowledged by the international community.

On the basis of statements made by representatives of the countries that are the main factors in determining UN policy, I expect that the next phase of relaxing and altogether lifting the sanctions will begin soon. We are

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impatiently awaiting this move in Montenegro, primarily for two reasons: first, because our—under the current circumstances—extremely valuable assets are blocked abroad. I primarily have in mind our maritime fleet, which, by being blocked in ports and out of use, is exposed to everyday destruction that is threatening to completely destroy it. I need not stress the damage this constitutes for Montenegro and the FRY, or how much time and effort it would take to replace the property. And second, from the moment the sanctions were imposed, I said that the Montenegrin economic structure is such that objectively it cannot survive very long in conditions of isolation because it is an extremely open economy. There are numerous drastic examples of this: The aluminum plant has almost entirely exhausted its reserves and is now facing its greatest dilemma to date—to either discontinue production and thus generate the immense expense of its reactivation at some later date coupled with the uncertainty of this ever happening or to continue production at a disastrously low level that has entirely undermined its profitability. This is the fate of numerous other industrial plants dependent on foreign markets, whose reserves and enthusiasm have more or less been exhausted in the two and a half years under sanctions. That is why the speed and extent of lifting the sanctions from the FRY is extremely important to us. [passage omitted]

[Box, p 3]

Montenegro Is Equal in Yugoslavia

[DNEVNIK] Considering its size, do you think Montenegro is discriminated against in the Yugoslav federation? Is there an alternative—many claim there is—to the present constitutional—that is, federal—organization?

[Djukanovic] Montenegro is in no way discriminated against in the Yugoslav Constitution. By writing the Constitution, we have secured conditions for our republic's equal position in the Yugoslav federation. Whether this will be so in reality depends on the leadership and our representatives in the federation. Perhaps there are instances when one is under the impression that Montenegro is neglected in certain segments of the federal state's functioning, although I believe that when it comes to vital issues pertaining to life within the FRY, our position is equal. I believe that this impression is primarily the result of personnel weaknesses in certain positions in which Montenegrin representatives should take care to adequately represent the republic's interests. Some of them are not doing so or they are not doing it appropriately. It is not an isolated instance that people quickly forget where they came from and what job they were assigned to, and then personal preoccupations quickly overshadow the state's preoccupations and all concern for national and republican interests is lost. We are aware of this and we have discussed it responsibly. This could result in a serious personnel reshuffle, which would put people with a sense of responsibility toward Montenegro, and of course, the FRY, in key positions in Montenegro and for Montenegro's representatives in the federation. Therefore, I truly believe that we have all the constitutional and legal prerequisites for securing Montenegro's equal status within the federation. It is our abilities and our honest attitude toward the work that will determine whether we make use of this.

As far as the alternative is concerned, it always exists. We offered an alternative to the state and legal organization of Montenegro in the referendum question. Therefore, the FRY was not offered to the Montenegrin citizens as the only solution, nor was it forced on them, yet they still opted for it. Personally, it is my deepest human, political, and economic conviction that Yugoslavia, as a federal community, is a good and optimal solution for both Montenegro and Serbia. I believe that the same conviction holds true in all of the state structures in the country and that it is also the conviction held by the majority of FRY citizens. That is why we extend, and will continue to extend our full support to this project.

[Box, p 3]

The Radicals Will Be a Forgotten Political Misfortune

[DNEVNIK] A part of the opposition, namely the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], has been fiercely accusing you for all and sundry. To what extent are these accusations justified, and to what extent are they in the function of political showdowns?

[Djukanovic] The government has given a detailed and, I hope, convincing answer to these accusations. I have personally addressed the issue at one of the regular government press conferences and I believe that enough has been said on the subject. In fact, when you know who was trying to accuse us, I am convinced that we have devoted more attention to them than they deserve. However, it is my belief that all this drew attention to two other things, which are both politically and sociologically interesting. I have already addressed one of the issues publicly. I presume that thanks to the unfortunate times we are living in and the lack of rules defining democratic behavior, a phenomenon has arisen in our society that allows a profession—in this case, the profession of journalist—to irresponsibly, in an unscrupulous and unsubstantiated manner, sling mud at people, with a particular zest for people in public office. This has today already become an established right and monopoly. If they lack the courage to do so themselves, they only need to find some unfortunate soul who does not know what to do with himself and to locate an appropriate target. Instead of acting like real professionals and devoting themselves to their work and checking out what they hear, they first publish it, thus creating room for the denial of the published absurdities. Perhaps their perception of the profession makes this challenging, perhaps it boosts circulation by a dozen copies, but as a social occurrence it is extremely damaging. Particularly in

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countries where a traditional, if not conservative, morality prevails. Heads have always rolled here precisely because of strong words. A conclusion must be reached on the basis of such behavior, and appropriate norms for its regulation established.

There is another occurrence that I also find politically very interesting and indicative. Namely, almost the entire Montenegrin opposition, with one exception, has united on the platform against the Montenegrin authorities, taking as the reason for its homogenization the irresponsible babbling—more suited for a pub than an assembly—of the leadership of an undemocratic, extremist, and in terms of political significance, marginal political force in Montenegro. For me at least, this speaks convincingly for the fact that the opposition's impatience is such that they have lost not only their political bearings but also their identity. Today is almost impossible to see a difference between he Liberal Alliance and the National Party, and it is uncomfortable to listen to the expressions of support and affection of both parties towards the SRS and vice versa. It is incredible that not even these parties, which are strong and have been around for some time, could not find another reason for furthering their cooperation than support for the uncivilized behavior of the SRS, which, according to how things currently stand, will soon be a forgotten political misfortune and will contribute to the state's judicial files.

Bulatovic Discusses Relations With Albania

AU2110095494 Lezhe KOHA JONE in Albanian 20 Oct 94 p 5

[Interview with Momir Bulatovic, president of the Republic of Montenegro, by Jetmir Shpuza; place and date not given: "Dialogue Is Necessary Regardless of Current Relations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Shpuza] About one year ago, you paid a one-day visit to Tirana, where you personally met the highest Albanian state personalities. One year later, how far do you think this visit helped toward normalizing Albanian-Montenegrin relations?

[Bulatovic] My visit to the neighboring Republic of Albania some time ago should be regarded as a visit of the president of one of the two federal units of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], a state which has a single foreign policy. I think that dialogue is necessary between states, regardless of current relations. When these relations are good, they can be developed, and when they are not, they can be normalized and improved. In this light, the very fact that such a high-level meeting took place after 40 years means a lot.

The full normalization of relations between Albania and the FRY is our goal and concern. This can be achieved by a process that must be democratic, based on equality and respect for the norms governing relations between states, as approved by the international community. This is the path of the good-neighborly relations that are in the interests of both states.

[Shpuza] Do you think that a visit by Berisha to Podgorica would be a fresh impulse toward further improving our relations?

[Bulatovic] A possible visit by President Sali Berisha to Montenegro, i.e. to the FRY, must be viewed in the same context.

[Shpuza] Since the war in Bosnia, our region has been a flashpoint. What does the Montenegrin president think about the future? Will we have lasting peace in this part of the world?

[Bulatovic] The political physiognomy of the Balkans has always been the result of the shape of the constellation of the great powers. Major changes on a global scale have brought political instability to the Balkans, which could give rise to a pessimistic vision for their future. Nevertheless, the further transformation of the international community as a whole and above all a retreat from the politics of violence could transform the Balkans into an area of peace and cooperation.

I hope that in the 21st century all states will inevitably devote themselves to the questions of how to improve human rights on our planet and how to enable the balanced development of all states.

[Shpuza] It is a fact that the embargo has restricted relations between our two countries. What do you think are the prospects for these relations in the political, economic, and cultural sphere after the embargo is lifted?

[Bulatovic] I have always believed that problems of political relations must not become obstacles to economic, scientific, and cultural cooperation.

The prospects for political relations will depend on a readiness to respect the basis principles of the UN Charter, above all on territorial integrity and sovereignty, and of course on human rights.

[Shpuza] Can we hope for an imminent liberalization of border controls between our two countries, to the point of entries and exits without a visa from the embassy?

[Bulatovic] That would be ideal and I hope the future will include democratic relations in the international community.

[Shpuza] The good relations between Podgorica and the northern city of Shkoder are a well-known fact. Do you believe in reviving and strengthening these relations under new circumstances? How can the governments of the two countries help in this?

[Bulatovic] The cooperation between the cities is an important element in interstate relations as a whole. It enriches cooperation and serves the fair interests of the citizens. I view the cooperation between Podgorica and

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Shkoder, as neighboring cities, in this light. These forms of cooperation must be supported and assisted.

The cordial welcome prepared for me by the citizens of Shkoder during my visit to Albania some time ago and the contacts I had at this time with members of our minority testify to the need to strengthen and enrich cooperation at this level. Of course, the governments of the Republic of Montenegro and Albania can make not only a major contribution to this, but a decisive one.

[Shpuza] There is an Albanian population in Montenegro, incorporated in the life of the state. There is also a Montenegrin minority in the north of Albania. Do you think that these people will be bridges linking our two countries and what plans or prospects does the Montenegrin state envision in this direction?

[Bulatovic] The Albanian minority in Montenegro and the Montenegrin minority in Albania must be bridges of cooperation, bringing the two states closer together.

The conditions for this are guaranteeing and exercising all the rights belonging to minorities under existing international documents. I hope that the democratic changes that have taken place in Albania will enable the Montenegrin minority too to enjoy these rights, as the Albanian minority in Montenegro and in Yugoslavia has done throughout the postwar period. We are determinedly and rigorously working to improve these rights.

[Shpuza] How do you view the statement by our president, Mr. Sali Berisha, a few months ago, in which he called for a lifting o the embargo against Montenegro? Could we consider such a statement a result of positive high-level contacts between our states?

[Bulatovic] I believe that the statement was motivated by goodwill toward Montenegro, but also Albania's interests. Nevertheless, it must be said that some other statements by Albanian officials could not fail to cause us concern.

[Shpuza] Some time ago, the Croatian newspaper GLOBUS wrote that a "secret" agreement to breach the embargo had been reached at the meeting between you and President Berisha. How would you comment on this claim by the Croatian newspaper?

[Bulatovic] I have no desire to comment on newspaper articles, especially Croatian ones. The mere fact that the media possess something says a lot about the aforementioned statement.

Nevertheless, the Republic of Albania is consistently enforcing the embargo against Montenegro.

[Shpuza] Under the circumstances of our peninsula, do you think that regional initiatives can be launched for closer contacts in the interests of peace?

[Bulatovic] This is in the interests of the Balkans, of all the states in the peninsula. Montenegro and the FRY would welcome any such initiative, and would support it and participate actively in contacts.

[Shpuza] Mr. President, after the secession of Croatia, Slovenia, and Macedonia, and the cease-fire in Bosnia, the Yugoslav state will rest on the pillars of two republics, Serbia and Montenegro. What can you, as president of one of these states, say about relations between these two republics?

[Bulatovic] The FRY is a special kind of federation, because it consists of one of the largest and one of the smallest of the Balkan states. Our relations are governed by the Federal Constitution. I can best illustrate the current relations between our two republics by the fact that the FRY has at no time since its creation been as stable as it is today.

[Shpuza] Do you think that the conflicts on our peninsula, such as the war in Bosnia, the disagreements between the Serbs and the Albanians of Kosova, or Albanian-Greek frictions could be solved more effectively by talks among the parties concerned or by the intervention and mediation of the great powers?

[Bulatovic] All disagreements among states are best solved through direct talks and with understanding. The presence of a third party is usually a sign of the lack of goodwill and of a sincere desire of the states concerned to solve the problems. I consider that the great powers' rendering of their good offices in such situations is useful, if their activities do not assume a different character.

In the end, the great powers draw up accounts in their own interests. This has always exerted an influence on our mutual relations. I have the impression that essential changes have still not occurred today. In fact, the form is more attractive, but the essence remains the same.

[Shpuza] Finally, is there anything you have left unsaid for our newspaper, perhaps in the form of a wish for the future of relations between our two countries or a message for the people and government of Albania?

[Bulatovic] I express the wish that the citizens of Albania will live in peace, freedom, and prosperity. This is a difficult, but attainable objective.

[Shpuza] Thank you. We hope that we may continue our conversation in the near future.

Kosovo

Three Albanians Sentenced to Imprisonment

LD2010192394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1422 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Pristina, 20 Oct (TANJUG)—The District Court of Pristina today sentenced three leading members of an illegally established "economic chamber of Kosovo." The first defendant, Ismail Kastrati, the chairman of "the so-called chamber," was

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sentenced to two years and three months in prison; secretary Sulejman Ahmetaj to two and half years, and "chairman of the executive board" Mustafa Ibrahimi to two years.

All three defendants were sentenced for the criminal act of association with the aim of hostile activities.

According to the indictment, they established the illegal economic chamber on the orders of the so-called government of Kosovo in order to raise funds for the separatist movement of Albanians in Kosovo and Metohija.

The driving force behind this parallel body, as the two-day trial found, was the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [Demokratski Savez Kosova] under the leadership of Ibrahim Rugova.

Journal Fined for Unauthorized Distribution

AU2010121894 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT No 468 in English 19 Oct 93

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Serb Misdemeanor District Court of Bujanovc (Southern Serbia) has recently fined Albanian political and cultural monthly journal JEHONA and its Editor-in-Chief Sevdail Hyseni, 75 dinars (75 German marks). This court justifies its charges by the allegation that this journal, during the years 1992/93, had been printed at NOVA MAKEDONIJA printing house in Stip (The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia) and the issues were distributed in the regions of Bujanovc and Presheva (areas in Souther Serbia overwhelmingly inhabited by native Albanians) without a prior permission of the so-called Federal Ministry of Information, BUJKU newspaper reported.

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